

# The argument or vvhole matter

of the Epistle of ſainct Paule to the Galathians,

by Del. Erasmus of Roterdame.



Albeit the Galathians are Grecians, yet are they originally descended of Frenchmen, & (as s. Hierome sayth) in dulnes of witte resemble the. This thing also Hilary, who was himself a Frenchman borne, in his hymnes testifyeth, in the same calling his countrey men dullardes. Sainte Paule also in this present Epistle repproung the calleth them Annoctous, that is to say, witlesse or foolish: to whose capacittie tempering his matter, he moze vehemently and sharply repproueth, then in other of his Epistles he doeth other, rather cheeryng then teachyng them, to thentent that such, as could not with reason be brought to a better mynde, might yet at lest wyse with authozitie be called home againe and amended. In this Epistle labozieth Paule about that matter, whiche he els where in euey place doeth: to cal men (I say) from the bondage of Moles lawe to the grace of the gospell, whiche matter in his epistle to s. Romaines he also entreateth of, because both people were in like errour, but yet after a sondry sozte fallen therunto. For the Romaines were first brought to Jewishenes, & after ward amended: but the Galathians contrarpe beyng by the Apostle first well taught, were through the sleightie descriptes of falsie apostles brought backe againe to Jewishe religion. In the Romaines, simplices it was, that they were through misteachyng begiled, but of wysedome and discretion it came, that after watyng they sone amended: on the other side, wheras the Galathians sone receiued and fauozed Chyistes doctin, that was a point of easines: but straight after to fal againe from it, and to become Jewes was euen lightnes and solishnes. To them there came falsie apostles takyng vpon them as though they had been sent from the chief Apostles Peter and James, whiche labozed to abate Paules authozitie, teachyng them, that to him there should no credence be geuen, as whiche was inconstant, sometymes obseruyng the ceremonies of the lawe, as it appeared, by that he made a bowe, shaupng his head, & caused Timothe to be circumcised: and sometymes with the Gentiles repproung and condemning the lawe, bearyng them in hand also, that suche rather ought to be beleued, as had with Peter and James been conuersaunt and other, whiche had seen Chyist in his manhod, whereas Paule had neither seen Chyist, nor was, but a disciple of suche as were disciples, and not the messenger of Chyist. Paule therfore vehemently and sharply, (to none epistle is there moze sharpe) with a hollsome earnestnes and fauozable sharpnes bothe cureth the Galathians errour, and also defendeth his owne authozitie, openyng the falsie apostles disceptes, at the beginnyng of the epistle, makyng him selfe equal euen with the chiefe apostles, yea, and in

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this point aboue them, because he was at that tyme by Chyist put in authoritie to pzeache, after that he was become immortall, and vpon boldnes of this authoritie, for a certain tyme both in Arabia and Damasco pzeached Chyist, befoze that he had talked with any of the Apostles, after whiche enterpryse he graunteth, that he sawe in deede at Ierusalem for a fewe dayes Peter & James, of whom yet he was nothyng holpen, after whiche tyme he sayeth he pzeached. xliiii. yeres in Syria and Cilicia, vntyll suche tyme as he was by God commaunded to retorne vnto Ierusalem with Barnabas and Titus, wher Paule compared and examined his gospel with suche as wer Chyistes Apostles: not because that he then beganne to doubt of his so many yeres pzeachyng, but to the intent that by theyr approbacion and allowaunce, whose authorities were chiefe among all men, othet might the moze be confirmed: at whiche tyme he so compared with Peter, that of him he learned nothyng as touchyng the gospel, and was not onely by Peter not compelled to charge the Gentiles with the burden of the lawe, but what tyme Peter at Antioche ate in company of the gentiles suche meates as wer by the lawe forbydden, & after for feare of the Jewes that came withdrew him selfe from that company, he checked him euen to his face, declaryng that thzough fayth men obtaine the grace of God offred by the gospel, & not by keepyng of the lawe whiche was at that tyme abolished. And though he beganne this disputacion, as it were with Peter, yet persueth he the same moze at large turnyng his matter to the Galathians, instructyng them and declaryng, that Moses lawe was geuen but for a tyme, and that al thynges taught therein appertained and directed to Chyist onely: that in the lawe was but fleshe, in the gospel was the spirite, in the lawe there were shadowes, in the gospel light, in the lawe images, in the gospel the truth, finally in the lawe bondage, in the gospel libertie: and that it was in the Galathians extreme foolishnes after they had tasted of better thynges, to fal to worse. Whiche pointes saint Paule entreateth of in þe fyrst, the second, the thirde and fourth chapiter, then after that he hath very earnestly warned them that by receiuyng circumscicion they should not shamefully cast them selues into the bondage of the lawe, he teacheth, that chyistian libertie is not a libertie to do what a manne lust synnefully, but a willyng and a ioyfull mynde to do well euen for loue, and not because the lawe so commaundeth. Finally he exhorteth the Galathians to chyistian concozde, to helpe suche as are weake or fallen, and to do for suche as haue taught vs chyistian fayth, and that suche woꝝkes, because they be woꝝkes of the spirite, are with euerlasting gloꝝy rewarded, whereas tempoꝝal ceremonies deserue but gloꝝy tempoꝝal, incidently byingyng the false Apostles into displeasure and hatred, as whiche for nothyng els labored to haue the Galathians circumscised, but because they might therof gloꝝye, as byngers to passe of suche an high arte. Lyke diseases haue suche now a daies, whiche fynde out newe & straunge kindes of religions, that it may be sayd, suche a kynde of men made he.

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All this epistle Paule as it seemeth, wrote with his owne hand. to shewe how tenderly he loued the Galathians, whereas in other epistles his maner is nomore but to subscribe: The latine argumētēs shew that it was wrytten from the cytie of Ephesus, but the greke titles reade that it was sent from Rome.

# The paraphrase vpon the epistle of the Apostle saint Paule to the Galathians, by Des. Erasmus of Roterdame.

## The fyrst Chapter.

**The text.** Paule an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Iesus Christ, and by God the father, whiche raised him vp from death: and all the brethren, whiche are with me.



Not by Iesus  
Christ, and  
by God the  
father.

**P**Aule an Apostle, and an Apostle of no  
meane sorte, (whiche I say), lest either some dispute  
me, as one of lesse reputacion, or with the power &  
authoritie of other Apostles abate and suppress  
in ync. For neither was I of any man putte in this  
commission and office as other some haue been,  
whiche either beyng but disciples & vnderlynges,  
to the Apostles auance them selues, as though  
they were of the highest sorte, or els by vnlawfull  
meanes procuryng mens fauor, violently breake  
into the office of an Apostle. For was putte in authoritie to preache the  
gospel by any excellent person, but by Iesus Christ him selfe the sonne  
of God, who not with any mannes election or consent had, commaunded  
me to be the preacher of the gospel, but by his owne mouth, what tyme  
he was becomen immortall, euen from heauen called me forth to do this  
busynes, vndoubtedly by the decrees and authoritie of God the father,  
who raised his sonne Iesus from death. For he is not therfore to be sup-  
posed dead, because he is of vs no lenger seen. But rather if suche be  
woorthily taken for high Apostles, whom Christ appointed beyng as yet  
among mortall men mortall, then surely should I not be coumpted theyr  
inferiour, whom he at that tyme from heauen, not as man, but euen God,  
called to be his Apostle and messenger.

For as I am in this point euen to the highest Apostles, in that  
I was of the same Iesus Christ institute, so this preeminence may I  
lawfully challenge, that Christ chose them, what tyme he was to our bo-  
dily infirmittes subiect, but me called he a sonder to be his preacher, what  
tyme he had put of all condicions of mannes weakenes.

**The text.** Unto the congregacion of Galacia: Grace be with you and peace from God the  
father, and from our lord Iesus Christ, whiche gaue him selfe for our synnes, to deli-  
uer vs from this present euil worlde, accordyng to the will of God our father, to whom  
be praise for euer and euer. Amen.

Paule therfore euen I an Apostle, and suche an Apostle wryte this E-  
pistle to as many of you as though the whole countrey of Galacia con-  
sent and agre in Christes doctrine: and lest one mans authoritie be of so  
smale weight, not onely I, but also as many as are here, (of whom there  
is a great numbze) whiche with me professe the name of Christ, which for  
sakyng wholes lawe embrace the sayth & doctrin of the gospel, first wishe  
you grace, and than peace and concoyde: grace that vpon fre deliuerance  
from your old synnes, ye may hereafter liue an innocent and a pure life:  
concoyde

concozd, that ye neither dissent frō other congregacions, noz yet frō yōut selues: whiche both gistes we muste looke to receiue, neither of Moles noz of any other mortal man, but of God the father, from whō as from a wellspring al our welth cometh, & of his sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, by whō it pleased God to geue vs all thinges, whō we must both thanke for all the miseries that we haue escaped, & also for al the goodnes, that we haue obtained vnto. For Moles circumcision made no man innocent, but Christ of his owne fre goodnes offered him self to death, because he would for our synnes make amendes, purposing through the grace of the gospel to supply that, which Moles law was not able to do, that we through his onely benefite beyng deliuered from synne, & synfull myndes, wherunto the world is bound, may neither be slauiſhly vnder vncleannes, noz mans ceremonies: for so hath it pleased God, & our father, by whom beyng first made, when after through our foly we fell againe into the bondage of synne, we were restozed againe, like men newe bozne, of yearthly becomen heauenly, and of carnall made spiritual. To him therfore, of whom al our goodnes floweth, honoz, and glozy be geuen, not transitozy as Moles lawe had, but suche as shal neuer haue an ende. Amen.

*I* maruaile that ye are so sone turned frō Christ, whiche called you by grace, vnto another gospel: whiche is nothing els, but that there be some, whiche trouble you, and intende to peruert the Gospel of Christ. The texte.

Wher as I lately preached this vnto you, & synce that ye once receiued the same, I maruaile not a litle, what hath chauced, that ye are fallen frō so good a father, & so sone fallen frō him, which frely for geuyng al your trespasses, hath called & prouoked you to euerlastyng saluacion, not for your keepyng of the lawe, but through the grace & bounteous mercy and benefite of Iesus Christ, & that ye are sodenly fallen againe into the bondage of Moles lawe, as it were into an other gospel, when in dede beside that whiche we preached vnto you, there is no other gospel at all.

*Whiche called you by grace vnto an other gospel.*

Whence is this so great vnstablenes, frō whence is this lightnes, to chaunge suche freedome as is frely geuen vnto you, with suche wylfull bondage? As for your wittes I reproue not, but thinke this fault rather to be layd to certain false Apostles, whiche beyng rather the preachers of Moles, than of Christ, abuse your rudenes, and trouble you with the titles of high Apostles, manacyng & threatenyng you, as though it so stode with you, that ye could without circumcision not attaine vnto saluacion, in so doyng, not onely labozyng to renue the ceremonies of the olde lawe, whō it were meete, were now abrogate and abolished, but vnder this colour also vtterly peruerting the gospel of Christ. For synce that the same gospel through fayth & godly life, assurcth al men, that embrace it, of perfitte weale and saluacion, well may it be coumpted a vayne & a deceitful doctrine, if (as they teache) no man haue entrey to euerlastyng welth, vnclesse he be circumcised, as the custome of Moles lawe requircth. God defende, that any mannes authozitie should remoue you frō the purtenes and sinceritie of the gospel.

*A*cuertheles, though we our selues, or an Angel frō heaue, preache any other gospel vnto you, then that whiche we haue preached vnto you, let him be accurſed. As we sayd before, so saye I nowe againe, if any man preache any other gospel, then that ye haue receiued, let him be accurſed. The texte.



## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

Rather be so farre frō beyng moued thzough the names of Peter, James, & Iohn, be þ̄ same neuer so great, whiche names men abuse to bying you vnder the burdaine of the lawe, that if euen an angel sent frō heauen pzeache vnto you any gospel other then that we pzeached, let the same of you not onely not be heard, but be also taken as one to be abhozred and accursed. And lest any thynke that these my woꝝdes are spoken either of hastynes, oꝝ of vnpacience, I reherse the again & again, that whosoever, whether he be an angel, oꝝ an Apostle of high name, pzeache vnto you oꝝ therwyle, then ye haue learned of vs befoze, accursed (I saye) be he & abhominable.

**The text.** Do I now persuade men oꝝ God: Either go I aboute to please menne: For if I had hitherto studied to please men, I were not the seruaunt of Christ.

**Either go I aboute to please men.**

For as often as men are in hand w̄ the right line of Christes sayth, neiether mans authoritie, no noꝝ angels ought to pzevail oꝝ take place. Who so pzeacheth Christes gospel, laboꝝeth in no mans busynes, but in Gods. And if this be so, why should I feare any mans authoritie: I was by no man but by God put in trust to pzeache þ̄ gospel. In whiche office I pray you, whether should I in suche wyle hādle my selfe to please men, oꝝ God, whō onely I acknowledge foꝝ my authoꝝ and maister: The Jewes vpon a worldly zeale laboꝝ to set furth among al men theyꝝ rites & ceremonies, to thentent that they may vnder this coloure be the moze made of, as the nature of men would haue euer suche wates seme best, wherin them selves were bzought vp. Wherfoze some sekynꝝ to haue the Jewes fauoꝝ, laboꝝ to bying men in minde to be circumcised, & pzeache of keepynꝝ the sabboth day, w̄ obseruyng a difference in meates, as though when they so teache, they taught men a high & a singular point. But God foꝝbid, þ̄ I should so farfoꝝth laboꝝ to please the Jewes beyng rather carnal then spiritual that I should suffice w̄ any Jewishe ceremonies þ̄ putitie of the gospel to be coꝝrupted: When I in tyme past was geuen to Jewisshenes, I pleased my countrey men, by all wayes I could, persewynꝝ them, that professed the name of Christ: But whiles I went about to please men, I displeased God, who would haue Moses abolished, & the gloꝝy of his sonne Christ to be set foꝝth. As long as I was bonde to the lawe, al myne entent and endeuoure was to kepe Moses rules, & foꝝ that sought I praise at mens handes: but now hath God called me an other way, whole onely praise I despyze, and loke foꝝ. If I should hencefoꝝth styl loke foꝝ the same praise of menne, certainly I were not Christes seruaunt. For how can any man thinke me his seruaunt, if I moze apply my selfe to winne the fauoꝝ of men thā to do his cōmaundemētes, if I moze feare to displease þ̄ Jewes, than God the father of Christ, and authoꝝ of þ̄ gospel: I was neuer flauisshely bonde to the ceremonies of Moses lawe, whō I well wylt were thzough the light of Christes gospel quite abolished, after suche tyme as I had once wholly geuen my selfe to Christ. For albeit once oꝝ twyse foꝝ appearyng of a commoꝝtion whiche might els wyle haue been, beyng among the Jewes, I obserued certain of theyꝝ customes, yet neuer thought I in the any hope of saluacion, but foꝝ a tyme applyed my selfe to the myndes of my countrey men, that I might theby bying moze vnto Christ.

**For if I had hitherto studied to please men, &c.**

But

But synce I perceiue, that this submyſſion of myne is by them wzeſt into a wꝛong meanyng, ſo that nowe the matter is gone ſo ferre, that they ſtycke not to charge with þe burden of the lawe, as a thing neceſſarie, euen them, whom the goſpell founde free from that burden, I thynke it hyghe tyme freely and playnly to ſpeake agayne Moſes rites, and openly to deſteſte all that maketh to the derogacion of Chꝛiſtes gloꝛie. And from ſo doyng ſhall there none Apoſtles authozitie feare me, be he neuer ſo notable, aſſurynge my ſelfe whole of Chꝛiſte, whoſe wyll and commaundement I folowe thꝛough thꝛycke and thyn in all reoparde.

I certifie you bzethren, that the goſpell whiche was pꝛeachd of me, was not after the maner of men. For I neither receiued it, noꝛ learned it of man, but by the reuelacion of Ieſus Chꝛiſte. The texts.

But becauſe ye ſhall the better vnderſtande, that I not without conſideracion fell from Moſes lawe, and nowe with ſuche boldnes pꝛeachd the libertie of the goſpell, I do you to wit (bzethren,) that the goſpell, whiche I taught you, is no ſuche worldly ozdinaunce as maye ſoꝛ any mannes pleaſure be altered, as that maye be, whiche is made by man. Suche as to you pꝛeachd circumciſion, let them ſoꝛ theyꝛ parte take hede, whence they learned theyꝛ goſpell. Surely the ioyfull tydynges, which I taught you, neither receiued, noꝛ learned I of man, by meane wherof I myght be compelled, either to leane to his authozitie, oꝛ to ſolow other mennes interpretations. Chꝛiſte hymſelf vouchſaued to ſhewe vnto me the miſterie of the newe lawe and the abolymiſment of the olde, becauſe no man ſhall thynke, that I was without conſideracion and raſhly chaunged. oꝛ els receiued the goſpell, whiche I pꝛeachd, of no perſon of graue authozitie. Chꝛiſte is in ſuche ſozte man, that yet he is no mortall man, noꝛ yet vnder ſuche deſires, as all men els are. Chꝛiſte is alſo in ſuche condicion man, that he therewith is alſo God, by whole ſecrette power, and ſpꝛite I was ſodenly chaunged into a new man, being elſwyſe moꝛe ſtubberly gyuen to Moſes law, taught vnto me by myne elders to be had in reuerence and honoure, than was lyke by any worldly perſwaſion to be plucked out of my heade, had not the holye ghoſt enſpꝛited myne hearte.

For I neither  
receiued it,  
noꝛ learned it  
of man.

For ye haue heard of my conuerſacion in tyme paſt, in the Jewes waye, how that beyond meaſure, I perſecuted the congregacion of god, and ſpoyled it, and pꝛeuayled in the Jewes waye, about many of my companions in myne owne nation, beyng a very frequent mainteiner of the tradicions of the elders. The texts.

Of this my tale I thynke you not ignozant, who of lykelyhod by report knowe, after what ſozte I vbled my ſelfe vnder the Jewes lawe, ſoꝛ loue boꝛne therto ſo greatly abhoꝛyng the goſpell of Chꝛiſt, whoſe ſecret knowledge I had not yet receiued, that by all the meanes I could, I perſecuted the new congregacion, which at that tyme by the ſpꝛite of god began to be gathered to the doctꝛine of the goſpell, and with the moſte tyꝛannie I could, deſtroyed them, thinking in the meane ſeaſon, that I dyd a noble acte, & ſuche an acte as hyghlye pleaſed god, whyles in dede lyke a foole ignozantly I fought agaynſt god.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Epistle

And surely the matter went well forward: for in my Jewyshe profession, whome onely at that tyme I thought good and godly, among my companions I got the praise, that I passed well ynge all that werre of my companions, for that rekened moze holy and religouse, because I moze styfly cleaved vnto my forefathers lawes: in so doyng being deceaued for lacke of ryght iudgemēt and knowledge, and not for lacke of a good intēt & purpose, & for a zeale bozne to the law resisting the maker therof. Which blyndnes it pleased god by his secreete counsel to suffer for a tyme, to thentent that I beyng sodenly chaunged from so great a bolsterer of the lawe into a preacher of the gospel, myght by myne example drawe and prouoke many to Christe.

**The terte.** But when it pleased god, which seperated me from my mothers wombe, and called me herunto by his grace, for to declare his lōne by me, that I should preache hym amōg the Heathen: immediatly I communed not of the matter with fleshe and blood, neither returned I to Ierusalem to them whiche were apostles before me: but went my wayes into Arabia, and came agayne vnto Damaſco.

**I communed not of the mat-  
ter w<sup>th</sup> fleshe  
and blood.** Wherfoze as lōne as it pleased God, whiche long before that, euen frō my mothers wombe, had purposed and chosen me out for his bulnes, vpo me to declare and notifie his pleasure, and whereas I no suche thyng desired, of his owne free goodnes to call me to this office, that by me, as by an instrument, the gloze of his lōne Iesus myght be knowne, whome as yet but verie fewe of the Jewes knewe, and of the Gentiles almoste none, among whō specially he would haue me to be preacher, what thinke ye, dyd I? Dyd I styll cleave vnto my forefathers lawes: was I slacke to set vpon the bulnes, wherwith I was put in trust: mistaksted I the woꝛde of God: compared I my gospeil with anye of the Apostles, that were my countrey men: or went I to any man to aske his aduise: went I to Ierusalem, to haue my gospeil stablyshed by theyꝝ authoritie, who, because before me they were called to the dignitie of apostleship, are highly esteemed: No I dyd not so. No: thought I it conuenient, that it shoulde by mannes authoritie be confirmed, whiche was by Christes commaundement immediatly committed vnto me. But furthwith as soone as I perceyued myne errout, and had receyued from heauen this commission, without any delaye went I into Arabia, where I nothyng doubted to preache Christes name, beyng as yet to the wyld and barbarouse people either vnknowne or hated: with no lesse zeale preaching then the grace of the gospel, than I erstke preached Moyses lawe. And from Arabia returned I to Damaſco, where streyght frō my baptisme I had begun to profess Christes name.

**The terte.** Then after thye yeares, I returned to Ierusalem to see Peter and abode with hym xv. dayes. Other of the Apostles saw I none save James the Lordes brother. The charges therfoze whiche I wyꝛe to you: behold before god, I lye not.

Thence after a thye yeares space came I to Ierusalem, rather to see Peter, than any thyng to compare w<sup>th</sup> hym. And with him abode I nomoze but xv. dayes, though he among the Apostles seemed chiefe. As for other of the Apostles laboured I to see none, saving James, whose surname is Iustus, who was for perfit holynes of lyfe called the Lordes brother: & he therfoze became fyrste Byshoppe at Ierusalem.



So ferre as ye see, was I from mistrustyng my gospell, and sekynge for any mannes ayde and assistance. Nowe that I in all these thynges saye trewe, witnes is god hym selfe, at whose commaundemente I haue taken vpon me to preache the gospell.

¶ After that came I vnto the coastes of Syria and Cilicia, & was vnkowen, as touchyng my person vnto the congregacions of Jewes, whiche were in Christe. But this they heard only that he whiche persecuted vs in tyme past, nowe preacheth the fayth, whiche he before destroyed. And they gloried god in me. The text.

These thynges done I went into the countreyes of Syria & Cilicia, in euery place there preaching the name of Christe. For euen in these countreyes a certayne number of Jewes began to fauer Christes doctrine, but to them yet was I by sight vnkowen, notwithstanding I was a Jewe borne. onelpe this they knewe by repute, that I was he, whiche by goddes wyll of a persecutoz of the christian fayth, was sodenly become a preacher of the same fayth, so that the same I before to the vtterest of my power assailed, nowe euen with leopardy of my lpe I defended. For whiche chaunge they two maner of wayes glorified god. one for that they were from suche greuous persecucio deliuered, and for that they had gotten suche a defender of theyr profession.

### The. ii. Chapter.

¶ Then fourtente yeres thereafter, I went by agayne to Hierusalem, with Barnabas, and toke Titus with me. I went by by reuelacion, and comuned with them, of the gospell, whiche I preache among the Gentiles, but specially with them, whiche were counted chief, lest I shoulde runne or had runne in vayne. The text.



¶ At after I had fourtene yeres preached the doctrine of the gospell (peacely to the Gentiles, then went I agayne with Titus and Barnabas to Hierusalem, whome I inteded to take with me, as witnesses of that, whiche was done. And this dyd I, not nowe of humanite, as I dyd before, but at goddes commaundement, to the intent the Jewes shoulde better knowe, when they shoulde see so great a number of Gentiles without circumcisio called to everlasting lpe, as well as they, that saluacion oughte to be looked for, not for circumcisions sake, but by fayth greuyng to the gospell. With them therefore compared I my gospell whiche I by Christes wyll hitherto preache among the Gentiles, and with them especially comuned I, whose auzeritie was among the Jewes most esteemed, lest anye of them whiche shyl beleued that Christes gospell shoulde be myngled with Moses lawe, mighte saye, that either I in the courte of the gospell had runne in vayne, or do still now yet runne, in that through the gyfte of fayth without mention making of circumcisio I had promysed them the same saluacion, that we whiche are circumcised puttynge our confidence in Christe, truste to haue and enioye.

*I went by by reuelacion, & commaund was thyn.*

## The paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Epistle

**The terte.** Also Titus whiche was with me, though he were a Greke, yet was not compelled to be circumcised: and that because of incōmers beyng false heathen, which came at priuily to spyre out our libertie whiche we haue in Christe Iesus, that they myght bring vs into bondage. To whome we gaue no roume, no nor for the tyme (as concerning to be brought into subieccion) because the tructh of the gospell myght contuene with you.

And that because of inuē  
mcs. 11.

And so sette were we from chargyng the Gentiles with the burden of circumcision; that not somliche as Titus, when he was bothe at Hierusalē, and conuersant also among Jewes, that styfly defended circumcision, was by the chief apostles of the Jewes compelled to be circumcised, because he was a Greckian and not a Jewe. And how muche lesse then should ye to do there in Galactia by compulsion of any false apostle? Suche as among the apostles were chiefe, required not of vs to haue a Greckian circumcised, therein vndoubtedlye intendyng, that the bondage of the lawe shoulde by lytle and lytle weare quyte awaye, and the libertie of the gospell be establisshed. But into oure companye there crepte certayne faile christian men, whome I maye for good cause so call, because they exacte that, whiche Christe would, should weare out of vs. Craytrously and falsly came they within vs to espyre oure lybertie gyuen vnto vs throughe the gospell of Christe, whetate they enuid, intendyng nothyng elles but throughe circumcision to bring vs agayne backwarde into the bondage of the lawe. Of them was it moze lykely, that we shoulde throughe theym impoꝛtune meanes, be compelled, lest by resistyng, some commocion might be stirred vp.

And yet not so muche as to them gaue we so ferfurthe place, no not for the tyme so satisfiyng theym myndes, by submittyng oure selues, that Titus shoulde be circumcised, which thinge was by vs done for your sakes, lest that whiche was in Titus done of necessitie, ye without necessitie for lowyng the same myght fall from the tructhe of the gospell, into a Jewyshe supersticion.

**The terte.**

Of them whiche semed to be somewhat (what they were in tyme passed it maketh no matter to me: god loketh on the outwarde apparence of no man) neuertheles they whiche semed great, added nothyng to me. But contrariwise, when they sawe that the gospell ouer the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the gospell ouer the circumcision was committed vnto Peter (for he that was myghtie in Peter, in the apostleshipp ouer the circumcision, the same was mightie in me among the Gentiles) when they perceyued the grace, that was giuen vnto me, then James, Cephas, and Iohn, whiche semed to be pillars, gaue to me and Barnabas the right handes of that felowship, that we shoulde be apostles among the heathen, and they in the circumcision, onelye for we should remember the poore. Wherin also I was diligent to do the same.

Now yf some of them, whose authozitie is chiefe, at any tyme either exacted of any other circumcision, or elles permitted it, whither they therein well dyd or not, that lytle appertayneth vnto me, this is for me sufficient, that they haue forsaken theyr olde opinion, and are nowe of the same, that I am of. Howe soeuer the matter goe, it is among men a great matter to be well esteemed, but with god are not regarded suche outwarde apperences, but the very trouth. Be it so that their authozitie is greater, than myne, yet as touchyng the pure preaching of the gospell, they so lytle furthered me, that they had rather by me therein some encrease and furtheraunce.

For after y<sup>e</sup> vpon declaracion and tryal had of my preaching vnto them, they perceyued, that Chyriste had aswell put me in truste with preaching of his gospel among the Gentiles, as he had done Peter among the Jewes, and when they sawe also that my preaching without circumcison was no lesse effectual, than Peters was, with circumcison toynded with his, and vpon oure repozte they vnderstode that god had gyuen vs with the equall grace of the gospell, so ferre were Peter, James, and John who amonge them were thought principall pillars, from repzoynng my preaching, that with me and Barnabas gyuyng vs theyr tyght handes, they made alegue of felowshippe, that we shoulde with one consent and mynde preache one gospel, euery man in his portion: we among the Gentiles, and they among the Jewes. No: gaue they vs any intunction, to call anye of the Gentiles to circumcison. Onely this desyred they of vs, that what tyme we among the Gentiles preached the gospell, we woulde remember the pooze people, whiche were at Hierusalem, that they thereby myght by some of them be relieued. In whiche poynte, forasmuche as it well agreed with the doctrine of the gospel, we diligently obeyed that theyr commaundement, as we would not haue done, had they gyuen vs in commaundement to circumcise the Gentiles. For an vnmete thyng is it, that with vs any mannes auzhoritie shoulde so take place, that for fauer bozne vnto hym we shoulde not after a tyght trade see vnto the gospel. For as at the begynnyng the matier required some thyng for a season to beare with suche as from Jewyshenes were turned to the gospel (because they could not vtterly be brought from y<sup>e</sup> religion, wherin accordyng to theyr elders lawes was, they were nozeled euen from theyr yowthe) lesse by that occasion many might from Chyriste be discouraged: so was there a diligence to be vled, that throught oure aduertisement suche people myghte be consent to leaue any lenger to be bozne with, specially synce therin there was moze leopardy, than auantage. For of them, whiche of Jewes embrace the doctrine of the gospell, a verve small noubmer is there, in comparison of them, whom we of the Gētiles by our preaching, haue enryched Chyrist with.

And of theyr further encrease also stande we in great hope, synce the Gentiles dwell so fer and wyde abzode in the worlde, whereas the Jewes in comparison be containd, but within a very narrow cumpace. Howe of the Gentiles the greatest parte in suche sozte abhorre circumcison, that moze lyke were they to forsake Chyrist, & his gospell, then vpon them to receiue the yoke of suche an odious law. Beside al this also, this greater leopardy is to be feared, lesse yf men longe & in most places abzode vse suche kynde of sufferance and bearyng, it come to passe, that the free benefite of our saluacion, for the whiche goddes goodnes and oure fayth shoulde be thāked, greatly seme to hang vpon the ceremonies of the law. Which yf men se obserued by the chiefe apostles, then wyl suche, as are somewhat bent to supersticion, take it, as though without them the fayth taught by the gospell to the attaynyng of euertlastyng saluacion were not sufficient. For what is externally done, all men se, but with what myndes and purpose thynges are done, that se they not.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

And in matters of suspicion it is a knowne thyng, that men are commonly gyuen alway to suspecte the wurste. By meane wherof, that they shall do for the tyme, gyuing place to the excreadyng supersticion of the Jewes, and agaynst theyr consciences, wll other iudge, as done of deuocion, and not beare with theyr weakenes. Men haue for a season bozne w<sup>th</sup> the Jewes ineuitable scrupulositie, from whome they must nowe by litle and litle encrease to better. But to exacte that of the Gentiles, whiche was but for a tyme suffered in the Jewes, that maye by no meanes be bozne with. The Jewes fyrste were excused by reason of a certayne perswasion receyued of theyr predecessours, and helpe that by a long custome, whose power is almoste effectually, as is the power of nature: agayne by that god was h<sup>is</sup> authour of theyr lawe, by dyuerse other thynges also, of which none maye be brought for defence of the Gentiles, yf they shoulde lykewyle myngle Moses lawe and Christes together. But now am I specially put in trust with the Gentiles, as Peters charge is ouer the Jewes. And ineece it is that eche of vs p<sup>ri</sup>ncypallye haue a regarde to his owne cure and charge.

The texte,

But when Peter was come to Antioche, I withstoode hym openly, because he was worthy to be blamed. For yet that certayne came from James, he dyd eate w<sup>th</sup> the Gentiles. But when they were come, he withdrew and separated hymselfe from the, fearing them whiche were of the circumcision. And the other Jewes dissembled as well as he: in somuche that Barnabas also was brought into theyr simulation.

I withstoode hym openly.

He dyd eate w<sup>th</sup> the Gentiles.

And for other Jewes dissembled as well as he.

Wherin surely I wll gyue place to no mannes authoritie, in somuche that when Peter came to Antioche, albeit among the apostles I well wist that his autoritie was chiefe, yet nothyng doubted I playnlye and euen at his face to withstand hym, moze esteamyng the gospell, than the dignitie that he was in. Also letted I before all men to reprove his waueryng inconstancie and pretended feare, synce the acte selfe was for this wel worthy reprove, because the same made to the great daunger of manye, which were lykely otherwyle to take it, than was by hym ment, euen as though he had so done vpon a conscience, and not to beare with the Jewes intemittie: for where he before sytting at dyner with certayne, whiche of Gentiles wer come to the profession of the gospel, with the eating indifferently all kyndes of meates, streyght when certayne Jewes sent from James came vpon them at diner tyme, he withdrew hymself from the table, pretending, as though he had not with them indifferentlye eaten comen meates: without doubtte fearyng lest he shoulde offende theyr consciences, whom he thought as yet somewhat moze superstitious than coulde wholy forsake and leaue suche choysse of meates. & to be also suche, whiche iudged, that it coulde not well stande with godlynes, that a Jewe shoulde with a Gentle almoste as sytte at one table. Whiche cloke and pretense of Peter, albeit it came of a good mynde, yet was it some thing indiscrete and lyke to haue turned to the bitter destruction of many, because not onely the rest of the Jewes that sate with vs, fauored Peters dissembling, but also my felowe Barnabas moued with Peters authoritie, euen with Peter withdrew hymself from that sytting.



Whose dissembling there was no doubt, but that all the rest welnigh would haue folowed, had not remedye been founden with fierce and vehement resistance and contentions.

But when I sawe that they went not the right way after the trueth of the gospel, I sayd vnto Peter before them all: If thou being a Jewe, liuest after the maner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jewes: Why causeth thou the Gentiles to liue as do the Jewes: For we whiche are Jewes by nature, and not synners of the Gentiles, knowe, that a mā is not iustified by the dedes of the lawe, but by the fapth of Iesus Christ: And we haue belueued on Iesus Christ, that we might be iustified by the fapth of Christ, and not by the dedes of the lawe: because that by the dedes of the lawe no man shalbe iustified. The text.

When I perceiued therfoze, that certaine, one while applying them to the gētiles freedom, and other whiles to the Jewes weakenes, haulted as it were betwixt both, noz went the right way, noz stedfastly forwarde, as the trueth of the gospell would, whiche at that tyme was so bypmine, that it was tyme without all clokyng stedfastly to professe the same, that the ceremonies of the lawe were abolished, and to saluacion offered by the gospel helpe nothpng, to remedy the peril that euery manne was in, plainly in euery mannes sight I resisted and gainsayed Peter: that vpon correccion of the heade, all might by his example amende, as they would when they should see, that euen he obeyed my refozmacion. And by these woordes resisted I him, and sayd: what meanest thou Peter: for what purpose is it, that thou this wyle withdꝛawest thy selfe? Why doest thou, whiles thou vndiscretely fearest for thy Jewes, dꝛawe these my Gentiles into a dangerous supersticion? For if thou being a natural Jewe thy selfe & yet not regardyng þ̄ superstitious blages of thy cōntrey men, liue euen as the Gentiles do, coumptyng nothpng vncleane, but that whiche is to Godwarde vncleane, synce againe thou hast at other tymes heretofoze done likewise with Cornelius Cēturio, and euen now at this tyme also here in our company, why art thou now become vnlke thy selfe, why doest thou inconstantly withdꝛawe the from diner, euen as though it so were with the, that wheras before this tyme thou shewedst thy self not to regard the differences in meates, noz yet to be with gentiles conuersant, that suche actes of thine were not done vpon any suche iudgement and discrecion, but to please men withal; noz seemest thou to vnderstande, that this thpne example not onely confirmeth the Jewes in theyꝝ supersticion, whiche were mete to be abolished, but þ̄ the Gentiles also, whiche are become christians, are like to be compelled through thine example, whiche arte among the Apostles chief, to be charged with the ceremonies of the Jewes, from whō Christ would haue men free, not onely them, whom the grace of the gospel found fre, but also þ̄ Jewes selfe, whō it found bonde. We that are no Gentiles bozne, whom the Jewes cal synners & vnpure, whiche at the tyme of preachyng the gospel were in dede Idolaters, but are by nature Jewes, bozne vnder the lawe, wher vnto for a season we wel obeyed, being yet taught, that through the keepyng of the lawe noman is iustified, but rather by a certaine cōfidence, wherby we trust through the free mercy of Christ to haue remission of synnes, mistrustyng the lawe of our elders, we resoꝛte to Christes religion, trustyng by meane therof to

If thou be a Jewe.

A man is not iustified by the dedes of the lawe.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

obtaine righteousnes, not suche as may byng vs into mennes fauor, but into the fauor of God, whiche the keepng of the ceremonial lawe, as a thing not sufficient, was not able to byng aboute. And shal we now be beginners and authoꝝ, that the Gentiles mistrustyng Christ shal now seke vpon the succour of the lawe, specially synce we well knowe, that throught the benefite of the lawe no man befoze God is made righteous: If menne were, what nede were it to resoꝛte to the sayth of the gospel?

The texte. If while we seeke to be made righteous by Christ, we our selues are found sinners, is Christ then the minister of sinne? God forbid.

To Christ the  
the minister  
of synne.

And if after our once receiuyng the sayth of the gospel, we be neuertheles found subiecte to synne, so that we nede yet an other remedy, as muche as we had nede of beyng vnder Moses lawe, and beyng disapointed of the hope we stode in, so that we now againe are compelled to seke vpon the lawe, that of vs was forsaken, what shal we say? shal we say that Christ, whom we beleued to be the authoꝝ of perfite iustice, is the minister of vnrighthousnes? who not onely deliuereth vs not from our olde vnrighthousnes, but is also an occasion of encrease therof, and not onely geueth vnto vs not the welthy state whiche we looked foꝛ, but also causeth our cōdemnacion to be moze grievous, sozalmuche as vpo hope of him we forsoke the lawe: wher vnto if we againe be compelled to returne, we might seme not without fault & vnadvisedly to haue forsgone it, of whiche fault Christ semeth the very occason. But God forbid, that any man so iudge of Christ, oꝛ thinke that the grace of his gospel doeth lacke any perfeccion, so that towarde the attainement of saluacion we should nede to seke somewhat out of Moses lawe.

The texte. For if I haue builde againe the thinges, whiche I destroyed, then make I my selfe a trespasser. For I throught the lawe, haue been dead to the lawe, that I might liue vnto Christ.

For to returne againe to Moses, after we once haue receiued the lawe of the gospel, it is a certain saylyng away from Christ and reproche to the gospel, yea, what Iewe oꝛ straunger soeuer so doeth, therein declareth he him selfe also to be a transgressour of Moses lawe. For if the lawe any thyng made to saluacion, why forsoke he it? if it nothyng made, why falleth he to it agayne? If the buildyng throwen doune with myne owne handes, I begynne euen from the foundation to buylde the same againe, whiche I erst destroyed, shewe not I therein my folly, whiche sette that vp againe, whiche I vnadvisedly destroyed? No canie is there then why after we haue once embraced the sayth of the gospel, by whom the goodnes of Christ would we should receiue perfite righteousnes and saluacion, to regarde the succour of the grosse lawe, wher vnto we ate now no lenger bonde. For as the death of either of the two maried deliuereth the partie that is left on liue fro the bonde of matrimony: so had I, whiche am a Iewe, with the lawe somewhat to do, as long as that mutual right endured, that is to say, as long as the lawe liued vnto me, and I liued to the lawe.

of S. Paule to the Galathians. Cap. ii. Fol. viii

I am crucified with Christ, Nevertheless I live: yet now not I, but Christ liueth in me. The life whiche I now liue in the flesh, I liue by the fayth of the sonne of God, The text. whiche loued me, and gaue him selfe for me, I dispise not the grace of God: for if righteousnes come of the lawe, then Christ died in vaine.

But as sone as through the death of Christ and the sacrament of baptisme I became prentice to the spiritual lawe of fayth, I was in maner to the grosse and carnal lawe dead, yet not so dead, that I liued not, but so dead, that I begunne to liue after a better way and condicion. Hitherto liued I to Moles, but now liue I to God. For God is a spirite.

As Christ liued befoze a moztal man, haupng a body subiecte to miseries, as ours is, so he beyng now dead to the flesh, and also to the world, liueth to God the father, free from all corrupcion and miseries of death. But I, whiche through baptisme am crucified with Christ, and also dead with him, am so farre from beyng bonde to these grosse and carnal, rather than spiritual and godly obseruaunces, that to them I am dead. For I liue not grosse and carnal as I once was, subiect also to worldly desires: Dead is Saule the stoute defender of the law, & persecutoz of the gospel, and yet through the spirite of Christ haue I receiued life now muche better. O; rather I liue not my selfe, whiche of my selfe am nothyng but carnal, but in me liueth Christ, whose holy spirite at his wyll and pleasure gouerneth all myne actes. But wheras I am not yet free from all contagion of death, but haue stil a body, somewhat subiecte to mannes weakenes, & the dilcommodities of this moztall life, yet in maner liue I a life immortal, conceiued in my soule through sure hope, assuryng my selfe vpon the promise of the sonne of God, through whose bounteous mercy I haue receiued y<sup>e</sup> gift of fayth, & through fayth righteousnes, through righteousnes, life euerlastyng, not by keappng of the grosse lawe, but through the singular goodnes of Christ, who of his owne good wyll loued me deseruyng no suche thyng, so greatly that for my synnes he suffered the punishment of the crosse, and for my welth gaue him selfe to death. Free is all that he geueth.

Not I, but  
Christ liueth  
in me, &c.

His pleasure was, that for our saluacion we should to him be beholding, and not to the keppng of the lawe. He it is whiche frely geueth this benefite to all men. He it is whiche taketh away synne, and geueth pure and innocent life. Were not I most vnkynde, yea were I not spitefull against Christ, if I refused his offre? And refuseh he not it, who after baptisme receiued, loketh backe againe for helpe of the lawe, as though to abolishe al the synnes of the worlde, and to geue euery manne euerlastyng saluacion, Christes death were not sufficient? If through innocent and hurtles life we become immortal, whence (I pray you) rather loke we to receiue both, by confidence in the law, or by the free mercy of Christ?

I dispise not  
the grace of  
God, &c.

If by his free mercy, why hang we syl on the lawe? If by keappng of Moles, then is Christ dead in vayne, for as muche as that, for whiche his pleasure was to dye, by his death

we geate not.

# The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

## The third Chapter.

The text. O ye folishe Galathians: who hath bewitched you, that ye should not beleue the truth: To whō Iesus Christ was described beioze the eyes, & now among you crucified



Openly among men for your foolishnesses and childishnesses are ye euil spoken of, but this may I truly say: O ye folishe Galathians, whiche would be brought in to an opinion so faire from all reason, that where the Jewes through the sayth of the gospel preached vnto them, are deliuered fro the burden of the law, ye being free menne bozne, wyl wilfully cast your selfe into bondage. The harme whiche is herein done, I lay not wholly to your charge, but blame your lightenes to beleue, & easynes to be perswaded: but much moze blame I the malice of certaine, who haue altered your former mindes, which would God ye would rather haue folowed simple as they are, than the vngacious counsel of some other.

That ye  
should not  
beleue percut

What was he, that through an enuye and grudge bozne against your weale, vnder whiche ye haue hitherto continued, through the libertie of the gospel, hath bewitched you, and charmyng out your christian mynde hath by enchauntment cast you into this frensy, that ye as men mistaking Christ, should seke for helpe of the colde and baraine lawe. Where is that singular confidence become, whereby through the death of Christ ye were in sure hope to haue perfite righteousnes and saluacion, without healpe and ayde of the lawe. Ye I say, in whose heartes Iesus Christ the onely authoz of our saluacion was so farforth grauen and printed, whō with the iyen of your sayth ye in suche sorte sawe by his crosse recōcilyng all the worlde to his father, as though he had been painted befoze your faces, and as though your selues had been witnesses of that dede doyng, whiche was in dede done at Ierusalem. The Jewes that sawe him hanging on the crosse, and yet denied him, sawe not so muche as ye did. Among you, whiche by his death trusted to receiue euerlasting saluacion, was he verely crucified. Your iyen were alwaye vpon the byasen serpent hanged vpon the tree, of whō onely ye trusted to receiue the hollome remedy of all your synnes. And whither now sodainly cast ye your iyen:

The text.

This onely would I learne of you, whether ye receiued the spirite by the dedes of the lawe, or by preaching of the sayth: Are ye so vnwise, that aftee ye haue begunne in the spirite, ye now ende in the fleshe: So many thinges ye haue suffered in vaine, if it be also in vaine.

If there be in you yet any wyttle left, euen consider me this, whiche ynlesse ye be blind, ye may easily vnderstand, and so do I, because I wyl not subtilly reason the matter with you, nor secke for farre fetched argumentes. Ye remembre, that lately at my preaching of the gospel, how through baptisime and puttyng of my handes vpon you ye receiued the spirite of Christ. It was no vaine persuacion. The wonderfull worke of God ensuyng ther vpon, as the gifte of languages, of prophetic, of healing, and other giftes made plaine pzoefe, that this came by the power of God, and by no mannes craftie conueyaunce.

This



This spirite of God (I say) whether (I pray you) receiued ye it by Moses circuncision, or els by that, though my preachyng ye beleued the gospel of Christ notwithstanding that ye to Moses were straungers, yet gaue Christ vnto you through fayth his strong and mightie spirite, as an earnest peny of the blisshed state, he promised vnto you. And why should ye now elsewhere of any other looke for saluacion, than of him, of whom ye haue receiued so plaine a gage of blisse to come?

If I to you preached circuncision, and if by trust therein ye receiued the heauenly spirite of God, then am I content, that for some parte of your saluacion ye shal geue thanks to Moses lawe, but if I nothyng taught you, but Iesus Christ, and that by puttyng your confidence in him onely ye found in your selfe euen the same gistes, that the Jewes through baptisme receiue, why should ye in despite of Christ seeke for the heauye and painefull burden of Jewishnes? Wylle and thuyng scholers from rude beginnynges growe forwarde and encrease, but ye from suche godly and commendable rudimentes fal backe to the worse.

The Jewes bozne vnder the bondage of the grosse lawe, forsakyng the ceremonies of theyr elders, repayre vnto the spiritual doctrin of the gospel. Ye contrary, from the godly beginnyng of the gospel and your heauenly profession, growe out of kinde into a Jewishe supersticion. They of Jewes become christian menne, and laboꝝ ye of christians to become Jewes: What neded vs to be indaungered and become debter to Christ, if Moses law sufficiently worke our saluacion? Why forsake ye now him for whose sake ye haue suffered suche afflictions, euen of them that hated Christes name and gloꝝ? For who so through circuncision thinketh to be saued, the same man is fallen from Christ.

Wyll ye in suche sorte vse your selfe, that menne of you shal thinke, ye haue for Christes sake suffered in vaine suche great afflictions? But God forbiddeth, that ye haue suffered them in vayne. Out of the right way are ye, but so are ye not for lacke of good wyl, but for lacke of knowledge, not of malice in your partie, but rather staggering through the enticemēt of other. Amende by tymes, and feare not, but that ye shall nethelisse enioye the fruite of your olde fayth.

Moreover he that ministrerh to you the spirite, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it through the dedes of the lawe, or by the preachyng of the fayth? euen as Abraham beleued God, and it was ascribed to him for righteousnes. The text.

Tell me now then, whether God, who geueth you his holy spirit, who in meruailous workes by you sheweth his mightie power, whether (I say) doth God this, because ye haue through keepyng of Moses law wōne his fauor, or els rather, because at our preachyng ye gaue credence to the gospel? If Gentiles, when they become Jewes, worke suche miracles allone as they be circuncised, as ye do, then some cause were there, to be despyous of the lawe: but if these wonderfull workes be seen in none, but suche as haue receiued the fayth in the gospel, why should you elsewhere looke for the ende, then whence ye see the same begunne? The beginnyng and authoꝝ of circuncision is Abraham, whose children the Jewes gloꝝ that they be, and are circuncised as he was. But not so muche as he ob-

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tained throught circuncifion the praise of perfite iustice, but onely by credence geuyng to Goddes promise, at what tyme he was not yet circuncifed. No; reade we in Genelis, Abraham was circuncifed, and thereby became righteous, but Abraham beleued God, & that to him was coump ted fo; righteousnes.

The texte. Ye knowe therfoze, that they whiche are of fayth, the same are the childzen of Abraham.

The promise therfoze made long since to Abrahams posteritie is none of theys, no; belongeth to any of them, that haue nothing els but Abrahams circuncifion, but to suche as by fayth geuyng to the gospel are his natural childzen. They that of they; circuncifion are proude, and bofte them selfe to be Abrahams childzen, make suche vaunte and crakes al in vaine, synce they be bastardes, and not the lawfull begotten childzen of Abraham. Fo; suche & none els are natural childzen to him, as faythfully and with all they; heartes geue credence vnto God, & as Abraham did, put they; trust in him, speakyng vnto vs by his gospel, of what stocke so euer they be descended. It is not carnal kynted, that is herein regarded and esteemed, but like perfeccion of myndes.

The texte. Fo; the scripture seyn afoze hande, that God would iustifie the heathen through fayth: Hewed befoze hand glad tidynge vnto Abraham, sayng: in the shal all nacions be blessed. So then they, whiche are of fayth, are blessed with faythful Abraham.

Now marke and considze, how this my saying scriptures many yeres gon testified and ment, that is to wete, that al men through fayth should loke fo; saluacion, & not onely a fewe Jewes by circuncifion. That now is preached vnto you by the gospel, the same many hundzeth yeres gone God promised to Abraham, sayng: in the shal all nacions be blessed, and wyne praise. But now could it in no wyse be true, that all nacions should be bozne of Abraham, and yet through him is the blessing promised vnto all people, as though all were his posteritie, as they in dede be, not because all are of his blood and stocke, but by resembling his fayth. Fo; it becometh childzen to resemble their parentes. Therfoze, suche as mistrustynge the ceremonies and woikes of the lawe, haue an vndoubted trust in the promises of the gospel, as true childzen of Abraham, shall with they; faythful father enjoy the blessing promised vnto him, from whiche suche shall be excluded as bastardes & vnlawfully begotten, moze wo;thy to be cursed, than blessed as by circuncifion trust to be saued.

The texte. Fo; as many as are of the dedes of the lawe, are subiecte to the curse. Fo; it is writte, Cursed be euery one, that continueth not in all thinges whiche are written in the boke of the lawe, to fulfil them.

Fo; as many as hang vpon the obseruauces of Moses law, who they kepe not in dede, but byrake, are vnder all Goddes indignacion & curse. The Jewes selfe cannot deny this, fo;asmuche as in the boke of Deuteronomie this wyse it is written, cursed be he that continueth not in all thinges, whiche are written in the boke of the lawe, and doeth not suche thinges as by the lawe are comaunded. By whiche wo;des ye see, that suche as kepe the lawe ceremonial, are not fo; that promised to be made righteous

righteous, but the transgressors thereof are threatened goddes curse. What man is he, that is able to perfourme the whole lawe, specially synce it is suche a thyng, whiche when throughe inhibition it hath prouoked men to syn, gyueth no strength no; ablenes to luppresse and ouercome deuyers.

That no man is iustified by the lawe in the syght of god it is euident. For the iuste shall lyue by fayth The law is nor of fayth, but the man that fulfilleth the charges con-The text.  
tained in the lawe, shall lyue in them.

But briefely to graunt, that a man maye throughe kepe the lawe, suche one happely shall among men be taken and accounted for ryghteous, but not be lykewyse coumpted befoze god, at whose hande, yf nowan throughe keeping the ceremonial lawe of Moses, be iudged for righteous, without doubte trewe is it, that by the prophet Abacuc is wyrtten, that the righteous lyueth by fayth. For as syn is the seede, wherof death groweth: so is godlye lyfe, the begynnyng and wel spryng of lyfe. The law hangeth vpon keeping of certayne prescript ceremonies, and not vpon fayth, which ceremonies, who so obserueth and kepeth shall lyue in dede, but not the euerlastyng lyfe, wherof we are throughe faythe put in assurauce. Looke what righteousness the lawe gyueth lyke kynde of lyfe gyueth it. Among men, so is it, that whoso breaketh not the rules of the law, he is ryghteous and lyueth among men ouer of all feare of punishment, but befoze god neither shall he be accounted for righteous, no; yet for lyuyng, vnles he surely truste vpon the promises made in the gospell.

Christe hath deliuered vs from the curse of the lawe in as muche as he was made as  
curled for vs, for it is wyrtten, cur. ed is euery one, that hangech on tree, that the blessing  
of Abraham might come on the gentiles, throughe Iesus Ch. iste, that we might receyue  
the promise of the spirite throughe fayth. The text.

Christe only among other was not vnder the curse of the lawe, but as an innocente and hurtles lambe to the law nothing endaugered. We were in daunger to it, and by reason thereof accursed, whiche wretchednes and curse he deliuered vs from, turnyng our offence into innocencie, and ouer curse into blessing. So that muche lesse woulde he haue you now vnder the bondage of the carnal law. But howe deliuered he vs? Without doubte, by that he beyng without all spot of syn, vpon his bodye tooke the payne, that was for oure trespasses owe, and the curse, vnder whome we were, toke vpon hymselfe, whereas he was from that, free, and partaker of blessing. Toke he not oure trespasses vpon hym, whiche as an offender, among offenders for oure redemption suffered the shamefull vilante of the crosse? For in the booke of Deuteronomie this we reade, curled is euery one that hangeth on a tree. And why woulde god haue it so? Surely, to the intente, that the curse of the lawe beyng taken awaye, the blessing, that once was promised to Abraham, shoulde in steede of it, throughe fayth take place. Take place (I saye) not in the Jewes onely, but in the Gentiles to, not throughe the benefite of the lawe, whome Christe woulde haue abolsished, but by the free mercye of Iesus Christe, by  
bb.iii. whole

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whose death we being brought agayne into goddes fauour, & deliuered from the burden of the grosse lawe, maye throughe fayth obtayne the blessing of the gospell promised to Abrahams posteritie, the spirituall posteritie (I meane) and not the carnall. Let vs surely truste in god, for he wil of his promise deceyue no manne, but what he promised, that will he performe.

**The terte.** ¶ Brethren, I speake after the maner of men, though it be but a mannes testamente, yet if it be allowed, no manne dispiseth it, or adderth any thyng thereto. To Abraham and his seede were the promises made, he sayth not in his seedes, as manye; but in thy seede, as of one, whiche is Christe.

**To Abraham and his seede were the promises made.** But to the intent ye shall the better vnderstand this, loe a worldly and familiar example. For though betwixt god and man, there be no comparison, yet a mannes testamente and couenaunte, when it is once allowed and ratified, no manne either breaketh, or putteth any thyng to it, contrary to the will of the maker: howe muche moze stable and sure then should the couenauntes and promises of god be? God promised Abraham a blessing, whiche by his seede all nacions of the worlde shoulde haue: Wherein it is to be obserued and marked, that scripture sayde not seedes, but seede, lest we by Dauid, Moses, or any other myght loke to haue goddes promise, but in his wordes noted the only seede, and the verye seede of the euerlastyng Abraham, whiche is Iesus Christe, into whome throughe baptisme and throughe the receyving of the spirite, we throughe him loke for the same gyftes, whiche god hath already gyuen vnto hym.

**The terte.** This I saye, that the lawe whiche began afterwarde, beyonde foure hundred and thirtie yeares, dothe not disanull the testamente that was confirmed afore of God vnto Christwarde, to make the promise of none effecte. For if the inheritaunce come of the lawe, it cometh not nowe of promise. But god gaue it vnto Abraham by promise.

But further to compare the former example, the promise and couenaunt whiche god, befoze the lawe was gyuen made with Abraham, whiche promise he woulde haue to be stable, the lawe whiche folowed and was gyuen after the same promise and couenaunt, coulde not defete nor disanul. And yet shoulde it restrayne and disapoynt the promise, if the inheritaunce of goddes blessing promised to Abrahams posteritie, were due to suche only, as kepe the lawe, forasmuch as in the promise there is no condicion of the lawe expressed. For howe coulde therein of the lawe be any mencion made, sence the lawe was not at that tyme gyuen? For in case the lawe had not folowed the promise at all, yet woulde god netheles with Abrahams posteritie haue kepte the couenaunt made with Abraham. Nowe if the promise of this blessed state be due by reason of goddes promise, and the promise made befoze the law had no condicion of keeping the law ioyned wthit, for what cause exclude we fro the promise, suche as to the law are straungers, and not straungers to fayth? For if by the lawe men enjoye thenheritaunce therin

For if the inheritaunce cometh of the law, it



then is goddes promise and couenaunt frustrate and broken, whiche god without keepng of the lawe wpll not perfourme. Euen lyke as when a man hath agreed with an other to gyue hym his doughter in mariage, after that the bargayne is made, he go from his woꝛde, denyng that he will so do, vnles the other agayne wpll promise hym his syster, wheras at the bargayne makng he had no syster boꝛne, noꝛ at tyme of the couenaunte, of mutual mariage no mencion made. The promise of god was free; and vpon the only condicion of fayth confirmed, whom who so perfourmeth, the same man hath right to the promise.

Wherfoze then seructh the lawe? The lawe was added because of transgression (vntyll the seeede came to whome the promise was made) and it was ordained by angelles in the hande of a mediator. The text.

But here some wpll saye, yf by fayth in goddes promise euery manne must loke foꝛ saluacion, foꝛ what ende and purpose made god the vnpꝛofitable lawe afterwarde? No, saye not, al vnpꝛofitable, foꝛ albeit it make not a manne vpright and innocent, yet restrayneth it oure libertie to syn, whyles it with ceremonies kepeth noughtie desyers and appetites within a due measure and compace of ryght reason. And had not the vnruly malice of men so required, there had no lawe be gyuen at al, and yet was not the same lawe gyuen neyther, that all men shoulde therto wholye foꝛ euer be bounde, but gyuen by god foꝛ a tyme, shadowyng foꝛ the season The lawe was added because of transgressio. Christe to come, with punishmentes fearng men from synne, and with promises pꝛouokng them to do well, foꝛ this purpose made and ordained by aungels at goddes commaundement, to endure vntyll that after many eares the only seeede shoulde come, wherby the god of Abraham promised saluacion to all Abrahams lawfull chyldzen.

In suche soꝛte was the lawe made by angels, that yet the whole power and gouernaunce of it had Christe in his handes, who in suche wyse was a meane and came betwixt Moses lawe, and the grace of the gospel, that he was the ende of the one, and the begynnet of the other, in suche soꝛte also a meane betwixte god and man, that to thentent he would betwixt both make atonement, in hymselfe he compysed bothe natures.

A mediator is not a mediator of one. But god is one. Is the lawe then agaynst the promise of God? God foꝛbid. The text.

Now a mediator that is a meane betwixte, must needes be a meane betwixte many. foꝛ no man is there, that with hymselfe is at dissencion. Of them that disagreed, god the father was one, who with makynge was at variance. Wherfoze necessarie was it, that there shoulde a certayne thyꝛde parson be, whiche in hymselfe contaynyng both natures, shoulde byng bothe at vnitie and concoꝛde, with his death fyꝛste pacifyng gods wyꝛath, and then with his doctrine alluring all the woꝛlde to the trewe honourng of god.

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As the lawe then contrarie to goddes promises? no not so. Forasmuche as the lawe folowynge the promise made by god, made not the same promise vayne, but kepte men in a continual expectacion & loking for goddes promises, that by so doyng they myght be moze apte and readye to receyue the grace to be offered by the gospell. For is not the lawe abolyshed, because it was agaynst goddes promises, but because it was conuenient & meete, that shadowes should gyue place to the truth: and the vnfactuall, to that whiche was mightie and effectuall.

**The text.** For yf there had bene a lawe giuen whiche coulde haue gyuen lyfe: then no doubt rightcoulnes should haue come by the lawe. But the scripture concludeth all thinges vnder syn. That the promise by the sayth of Iesus Christe should be gyuen, vnto them that beleue. But befoze sayth came, we were kepte vnder the lawe, and were quitted by vnto the sayth, that should afterwarde be declared.

But þ scrip-  
ture conclud-  
eth all thinges  
vnder  
synne.

For yf there had suche a lawe bene gyuen, as coulde vnsaynedlye and truly haue giuen lyfe, then should the same neuer haue bene abrogate, nor should we haue had any nede of the healpe and ayde of the gospell, for asmuche as then by the lawe euery man might haue attayned vnto perfecte righteoulnes. Sufficient had it bene therfoze in that case to truste vpon the lawe, for all them that were of euerlastyng saluacion desyrouse. But nowe, lest men vpon boldenes of theyr workes myght despise the grace of Christe, for this purpose was the lawe gyuen, declarynge and prescribynge, what was to be done, and what was to be auoyded, that all men should perceyue themselves in daunger of syn, whyles they thynke not, that they by the lawe knewe was euyl, being vndoubtedly ouercommen with theyr noughtie despers, and by these meanes knowynge theyr own disease, myght moze willyngly embrace the remedie to be offered by the grace of the gospell. For befoze the lawe was gyuen, menne without correccion fell to syn, to whome all that lyked, was streyght thought lawfull, and in defence of mennes synfull lyfe some thyng had they to laye for theyr excuse. But the lawe had them in suche a brake, that they coulde not chuse, but graunt, that they had well deserued punishment, for somuche as it coulde not be denied, but that it was good and honeste, whiche was by the lawe commaunded. After that god therfoze by his great wysedom had by suche meanes taken awaye our vayne confidence in our selves, and had sette befoze oure eyes our synfull lyfynge, than declareth and perfourmeth by his promise made to Abraham, and that, whiche the Jewes only loked for, as peculiarlye belongynge to them, beyng as they sayed, the only chyliden of Abraham, generally to belong to all suche, as were through sayth becommen Abrahams very chyliden, not for theyr deserte of keepynge the lawe, but because they with all theyr heartes put theyr affiaunce in the gospell, and beleued also that through the death of Iesus Christe, godly lyfe shall all people haue, and receyue glozy also and saluacion.

For this purpose lyketwys for a season serued Moyses lawe, that partly with manacyng of punishmentes, partly w hope of promises made therein  
and

and partly with rude expressing of Christe to come, the Jewes after suche sorte within theyr bondes, lest Christe at his coming should haue found them strayed out into all kyndes of iniquite, neither worthy, nor yet apte to receiue the grace of his gospell. By the promities then of the lawe had the Jewes a certayne rude knowledge of the misterte of the gospell. By the obseruaunce of this lawe then were menne so long stayed and vnderpyght, vntill that was by the gospell opened, whiche the lawe in shadowes represented, that if men wyl nowe awake, they maye clearly see euen that put in vze, wherof they before had but a dreame.

**¶** Wherefore the lawe was our scholemaster vnto Christe that we might be made righteouse by faythe. But after that sayth is come, we are no longer vnder the scholemaster, for ye are the chyldren of God, because ye beleue in Christe Iesu. For al ye that are baptised, haue put on Christe. The texts.

The lawe therfoze brought not men to perfite righteousnes, but was as a scholemaster gyuen to the rude people, that whome the regarde of honestie was not yet able to kepe in good order, they myghte with feare of punishmente be kept from extreme noughtines: that thzough suche meanes encreasyng by litle and litle, they myghte be broughte from trustyng vpon theyr olde ceremonies vnto Christ, of whome onely they should loke to receiue perfite righteousnes. That we myghte be made righteouse through faythe.

Nowe is not the chyld so vnder his scholemaster, that the scholemaster with hym muste alwaye be at hande, but onlye vntill suche tyme, as they beynge moze ripe and growen vpp to better knowledge euen of theyr owne accorde fall to honestie, nor haue nede with feare of punishmente to be kepte from euyl, but by theyr fathers encouragyng freelye and wyllyngly study goodnes and honestie, an other whyle nowe rulyng theyr scholemaster, whose holisome and sharpe correction they for a tyme endured. As the father therfoze, though he tenderly loue his chyldren, compelleth them yet for a tyme to be vnder a scholemaster, whose maister the chyldren in shortlye tyme after shall be: so hathe god with sharpnes of the lawe kepte vnder his rude and grosse people, vntill that they concerning the doctrine of his gospell, beynge made their owne menne should no longer neede to be vnder correction of theyr scholemaster, but lyue freelye, as free chyldren vnder theyr moste mercifull father.

And though it so were, that god gaue vnto the Jewes onely, a scholemaster, yet toke he not them onelye for his chyldren, but rather counted all suche as by faythe in the gospell are graffed into the boode of Iesus Christe, and endued with his holye spirite, to be goddes chyldren, as soone as they are with Christe made one. Nowe if that, wherby we are ioyned vnto Christe, generallye belong to all menne, what lette should there be, why God should not indifferently counte all for his chyldren: Thzoughe baptisme haue ye receiued the spirite of Christe, and not by circumcision. For ye are the chyldren of god because ye beleue, &c.

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As many then, as are baptised, are become with Christ ioynte inheriteers, in that behalfe no poynt inferio; to the Jewes, boast they themself of the priuelege of circumcision neuer somuche.

The text.

There is no Jewe neither Gentile: there is neither bonde neither free: there is neither man nor woman, for ye are all one in Christe Iesu. If ye be Christes, then are ye Abrahams seede, and heyses acco;dyng to the promise.

In thinges, that hange vpon mennes fauer, the condiclon, state, and persons are regarded, but god woulde this benefite of his to be bothe free and also comen to all men. Throughe baptism are we newe bo;rne agayne, and sodenly altered, as it were into a newe creature. And as touching this gyft, it is layed to noman, nor passed vpon, whether he were before baptism, Jewe or Gentile, bonde man or free, manne or woman. All ye throughe baptism are belonging to Christes bodie, equally partakers of this goddes gifte, whiche is from the head conuayed into all the members.

For ye are all  
one in Christe  
Iesu.

And if Christe be the very seede of Abraham, by whom god promised his blessing to all nacions of the wo;rlde, to asmuche as ye are planted in Christe, nedes must ye be Abrahams posteritie. farther then, if ye be Abrahams posteritie, euen lyke heyses ye haue ryght to þ promise of god. If throughe the felowshyp of Christe ye become goddes chyl;den, and into it are all

recepted

throughe fayth and baptism, necessarily it foloweth, that the inheritaunce equallye appertayneth to all men.



The fourth Chapter.

And I say, that the heyre, (as long as he is a childe) differeth not from a seruaunt, though he be lord of all, but is vnder tutors and gouernours vntil the tyme that the father hath appointed: euen so we also, when we were chylde, were in bondage vnder the ordinaunces of the woylde. The terte.



Ung synce by Goddes promise due was the title of inheritaunce, but now and not befoze are we receiued into it, because (as we befoze sayd) as by mannes lawes and ordinaunces, the heyre, while he is within age, vseth not his right, yea he nothing differeth fro a seruaunt, where he is boyme to be lozde ouer all, but is kept vnder with feare, and ruled as other men wpll, passyng that tyme vnder creasers & gouernours, vntyl he be growen vp to that tynenes, whiche either the lawe oꝝ his father hath appointed: so likewise in tyme past, when we were yet not apt to receiue this gift, whiche requireth euen heauely myndes, our vnderstandinges also therto, not of strenght sufficient as yet, we were like chylde, w̄ suche certayne grosse lawes, as were mete foꝝ our infirmitie, kept in due ordꝛe, beyng suche at that tyme, as could not sauoz heauenly learyng, but rather suche as would with suche thynges be moze moued, as might with our fleshely yen be seen, as are the material thynges of this woꝛld, foꝝ example, differences of dayes, differences of meates, differences in apparel, sacrificyng and kyllyng of bestes circumcission. As long as we were not apt to receiue higher instruccions, euen as seruauntes we foꝝ a season obeyed and were vnder these.

But when the time was ful come, God sent his sonne made of a woman, and made bonde vnto the lawe to redeme them, whiche were bonde vnto the lawe: that we through election might receiue the inheritaunce, that belongeth vnto the natural sones. The terte.

But assone as we came out of wardshipp, and were growen vp to a tynper age, when that tyme was paste, whiche the euetlastyng father in his secrete couisel had appointed, he suffered vs no leger to be vnder the carnal rules of the lawe, but sent foꝝ our deliuerance neither Moses, noꝝ prophete, but his onely sonne Iesus Christ. He sent his sonne (I say) not to be seen, as thynges are seen in a dreame oꝝ vision, so that a man might doubt, whether it were so oꝝ not, but openly befoze euery mannes yen, to be a man boyme of a woman, vnder the weakenes of our natures, to the entent he would readly heale our wretchednes, whom God would haue to be circumcised, & suffre all the bondage of the lawe, to thende he would deliuer the Jewes from the burdaine of the lawe, whom he founde therto subiecte, that noman should thencefoꝝth like a childe within age, liue vnder gouernours, but be all called to the libertie of chylde, foꝝ bondage is contrary to the name of a childe.

¶ Ther we  
though elec-  
tion myghte  
receiue this  
heritaunce.

Because ye are sones: God hath sent the spirit of his soune into our heartes which cryeth abba father. The terte.

And because God would of his goodnes evidently declare, that we are  
cc. i.                      restored

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restored into the freedom of children, he putting away all feare of punishment hath powred euen into the bottome of our heartes, the spirit of his only sonne, who is to vs a most certaine witnes, that we are Gods children. The spirite of seruage lauozeth and cryeth out after one sojre, the loue and good mynde of children after an other. The one desireth to escape the displeasure of his maister, thother with a great confidence crieth, O father, father.

The texte. Wherefore now thou art not a seruaunt, but a sonne. If thou be a sonne, thou arte also an heire of God through Christ.

Wherin it is not to be doubted, but that God doeth muche moze thakefully knowledge the name of godly loue and charitie, than the name of feare. If this were not as I say, neither would Christ haue called his scholers, brethren, no; haue taught menne to praye vnto God vnder the name of a father, when he teacheth vs to say, O our father whiche art in heauen. To whom soeuer therfoze God geueth the spirite of his sonne, the same man is no lenger a seruaunt, but a sonne. And if he be through Christ, his sonne, by him likewise must he be Gods heire. Namely synce whoso by adoption receiueth an other into the name of his sonne, he in so doyng geueth him a right to his inheritauce.

The texte. Notwithstanding when ye knewe not God, ye did seruite vnto them whiche by nature are no Gods. But now after that ye haue knowen God, (ye rather are knowen of God) how is it, that ye turne againe vnto the weake and beggerly ordinaunces, wherunto againe ye becompe afreshe to be in bondage? Ye obserue dayes, and monethes and tymes, and yeres. I am in feare of you, lest I haue bestowed on you laboz in vain.

But as the Jewes foze a season were with a grosse religion, or rather superstition kept vnder, because they should not vtterly flyde from al religion, so, what tyme the true God was vnknewen vnto you, accoꝝdyng to the ordinaunces of your elders, ye worshipped deuils, beleuyng them to be Goddes, whiche are in dede none, because he semeth muche nigher true religion, which is vnder a false, than is he, that thinketh there is no God at all, dispislyng all religion. God layeth not to the Jewes charge, because they foze a tyme liued vnder theyꝝ elders lawes, fro whom when they were taught better learnyng, they turned to the very right trade of godly conuersacion. No; is your worshippynge of idolles, whom ye erroneously supposyng to haue an heavenly powdet in them had in honour, layde against you, synce the tyme, that by preachyng of the gospell ye knewe the liuyng God, or els (to speake it better) synce the tyme ye were knowen of God, ye found him not, but he by his holy spirite dyewe you vnto him, etten as that, whereas ye nowe tenderly loue him, as a father, cometh by none other meanes, but because he fyrst loued you. God fauorably and gentilly forgatte your olde errour, but of your owne accoꝝde from the trueth once knowen wylfully to retorne againe to the same, that offence is outragious and damnable.

But now after that ye haue knowen God, &c.

The Jewes beyng taught the true religion, forlake theyꝝ ceremonies: and wyl ye beyng called fro idolatrye, & taught by preachyng the gospell what

what perfite religion is, after the receiuyng of the holy ghost, cast your selfe againe headlong into a Jewishe bondage, so that wheras ye are free, ye had rather to be vnder the grosse beginnynges of this worlde, whiche neither are able to make you righteous, no: been effectual to saluacion. Fall ye not to them againe, when Jewisshely ye obserue daies, monethes, and yeres, with other such differences of tyme, as though the Jewishe sabboth day, the feastes of the newe moone, holy dayes, and other tymes, wherin the Jewes either do certain thinges, or abstaine from certaine other, as from vnlawful actes, any thyng healped onward to saluacion, when to chyrstian men all tymes are free to honour God in.

How far it  
that ye turne  
againe vnto  
the worke &  
biggerly or-  
dinauces, &c.

If ye haue in Chyrst a sure confidence, whence is this supersticion? If ye haue not, then feare I, lest I haue in vaine bestowed so muche labo: vpon you for your instruction. Ye fall from Chyrst, if ye myngle with him Jewisshenes. Suffer not, that either I, whiche haue by suche great and sundry troubles taught you the gospel, lose therein my labo:, or that ye in vaine haue suffered for Chyrst sake suche afflictions.

Wherein I beseeche you, be ye as I am, for I am as ye are. Ye haue not hurt me at all. Ye knowe, how through infirmitie of the fleshe, I preached the gospel vnto you at the first. And my temptation whiche was in the fleshe, ye despised not, neither abhorred: but receiued me as an angel of God: euen as Chyrst Iesus.

The text.

But rather regarde not the ceremonies of the lawe, as ye see me to do, but put my trust in Chyrst onely. My selfe sometyme was suche one as ye now be, iudgyng that it was an high pointe of godlynes to be circumcised, to kepe the Jewishe sabboth day, to obserue differences in meates, to sacrifice beastes: so: zeale of whō, I then persecuted the churche of God, all whiche pointes now reaken I for trifles.

Wheras I whereupon somewhat vehemently complaine vpon you, surely this may ye belue me, I seke not myne owne weale, but yours. I might with the quiet bprightnes of myne owne conscience be with my selfe contented. I am not displeased with you, for ye haue done me no wronge. I pitie to see you go from suche good beginnynges, looke rather that ye be stable and constant, encreasynge styl from better to better, rather than from better to worse.

Ye haue not  
hurt me, at al.

What tyme I fyrst preached vnto you the gospell of Iesus Chyrst, I submitted my selfe to your weakenes, now an other while rife ye vpp to my strength, & lose not the gloriouse praise of your fayth. Of late, when I preached vnto you y<sup>e</sup> gospel, ye knewe, I toke no great royal state vpon me, but euen the behauour of a lowe, simple, and abiecte person. I pray you, what saw ye me, but a sealy mā, ready to take harme, hated of many for Chyrstes name, vnder diuerse troubles and vexacions, & beside this, one of a simple and rude language? I taught you nothyng, but that Iesus Chyrst was for your sakes faste vpon the crosse, at whiche tyme suche was the readynes of your fayth, that ye with suche vilenes in my person beyng nothyng offended, neither forsooke no: despised my gospell, what tyme by fayth therein I promised you life euetlastyng.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

Yea (I say) ye receiued me heartely, and with great honoure, not as Paule, but as the angel of God, yea as Iesus Christ him selfe, because ye perceiued, that I brought vnto you no worldely doctrine, but a heavenly and godly: and that I went not aboute myne owne busynes, but labored in Iesus Christes behalfe. God therfoze, & Christ worshipped ye in me.

**The texte.** What is then your felicitie? For I heare you recorde, that yf it had been possible, ye would haue plucked out your owne eyes, and haue geuen them to me. Am I therfoze become your enemy, because I tel you the trueth?

Whiche actes in you well declare the singular fayth ye once had, whiche was so ready, so sounde and constant, that it abated not, notwithstanding myne afflictions, notwithstanding my vilenes. Joyful was I for it, blessed I iudged you, & my selfe lucky, in that I had gotten suche good disciples. But if ye of suche good beginnynges repēt you, where is your felicitie becomen, where is also mine, whiche was, what tyme I reioysed of you, and ye likewise of me? This ought I truly to testifie of you, such loue bare ye towarde me, that if neede had been, ye would haue plucked out euen your eyes out of your heades, and haue geuen them vnto me. And why now slide ye from me by calling vnto you newe Apostles, to learne of them Jewishnes? With flatterynge and coloured wordes they allure and geat your fauor, not preachynge suche thinges, as helpe to saluacion, but suche as make to theyr lucre and auancement. Am I therfoze become your enemy, because I both plainly and truly taught you suche thinges, as I well wyll belonged to your saluacion?

**The texte.** They are ielouse ouer you am I te. Yea they entende to exclude you, that ye should be seruient to them warde. It is good alwayes to be seruient in a good thyng, and not onely when I am present with you.

But I wel see Galathias, wherabout they go, some ielously wooe you and as it were enuiyng at me, laboz to wyne your fauor, but yet so do they neither of good ne godly purpose. For they do not this to profite, but to plucke you backe from the libertie of the gospel into a Jewishnes, vnder whiche them selves are. Busily laboz they to make other like them, to thende they may seme both to folowe and teache a metuailous and a goodly kynde of doctrine. Thinke not that in euery manne, euery thyng must be folowed, but folowe suche thinges, as are good, and that constantly, not onely while I am there present among you, but also when I am absent. Ye sawe me dispyle the ceremonies of the lawe, and to preache nothing vnto you, but Christ, and ye folowed my preachynge, while I was present. And if that were well done, why folowe ye now in myne abience other, in suche thinges, as are not good?

**The texte.** My lytic children (of whom I trauaile in birth againe, until Christ be fashioned in you) I would I wer with you now and could change my voyce, for I stande in a doubt of you.



of S. Paule to the Galathians. Cap. iiii. Fol. xv.

Would God ye could with your eyes see the secreete partes of my heart, there should ye clearly perceiue, with how great grieffe I write this.

O my litle childzen, once begotte I you to Christ, not without my great trauaile and paine, and now after your swaruyng from Christ laboꝝ I to beare you againe, vntyl that Christ in you be throughly fashioned.

I had sowed good seede, wherof it was meete that perfite christians should haue growen, but by enchauntment (I wote not how) ye are turned into Jewes, and changed into an other kynde. Christ is heavenly and spiritual, and will ye be carnal & yearthly? But this epistle expresth not sufficiently the vehemencie of my minde. Would God I might be now presently among you, with liuely wordes to lette out that I after a softe signifie by letters, the vehemencie of whom would partely with my countenance, partely with my teares, and partely with my voice be encreased. To bring you againe to Christ, I would change my selfe into all sortes, and sometymes speake faite, and sometymes require, and sometymes chide. And accoꝝdyng to the varieties of your natures, & necessitie of the matter, would I better apply and temper my wordes. And would assaye euery medicine, vntyll the tyme I had brought all you to health. But now so: as muche as I see some of you fallen to Jewishenes, some o-ther in teopardie of fallyng, and some (I trust) constant in my doctrine, my minde is in muche care and feare, vncertaine, with what kynde of letters to reamedie this great harme,

I would I  
wer with you  
now I could  
change my  
voys.

Tell me (ye that desyre to be vnder the lawe) do ye not heare of the lawe? For it is written, that abraham had two sonnes, the one by a bonde mayde, the other by a free woman. Yet, and he whiche was borne of the bonde woman was borne after the fleshe, but he whiche was of the free woman, was borne by promise.

The texte.

But peculiarly to speake vnto suche of you, as are contented to fall backe to Jewishnes, I beseeche you answere me: If Moses lawe so greatly please you, why folowe ye not the authoritie of it, if ye discuss the gospel? Euen very Moses lawe selfe would suche as are receiued into the felowship of Christ, to be free from bondage of the lawe. Ye receiued the lawe, but ye geue none care to that it sayd, or if ye gaue care vnto it, ye vnderstande it not, because ye cleaue to the litteral meanyng onely, and pearce not to the spiritual sence therof. For it is written in the booke of Genesis, that Abraham the beginner and father of all right beleuers had two sonnes, of whom the elder called Ismael he begatte of Agar the bonde maide, the yonger called Isaac, he had of his lawfull wife Sara. He that was borne of the handemaide, was borne as childzen are comenly wont to be, and was nothing but Abrahams sone, euen as the Jewes be, be they neuer so farre from Christ. He that was borne of the free wife, contrarpe to the comon courie of nature was borne of a barrain mother, of an olde father, accoꝝdyng as God had promised: so that them, whom age and weakenes of body put in desperacion of hauyng an heyre, Gods promise put in perfite assuraunce to haue a child. The first childe therfoꝝe was the childe of nature, the other was the childe of fayth.

Abraham had  
two sonnes, &c.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

**The text.** Whiche thinges are spoken by an alligorie. For these are two testaments, the one from the mounte Sina, whiche gendereth vnto bondage, whiche is Agar, for mounte Sina is Agar in Arabia, and bordereth vpon the cite, whiche is now called Ierusalem, and is in bondage with her children. But Ierusalem whiche is aboute is free, whiche is the mother of vs all.

For these are  
two testame-  
tes. sc.

Now is it to be supposed, that this tale hath, beside the truieth of the histoꝛie no secreete hidden misterte. For comenly suche is Moses law, that as in a māne vnder the grosse fleshe and coueryng of the body, is hidden the soule the ruler therof: so vnder the letter and histoꝛie, a moze pꝛiuey thynge and higher mistery is couered. Let vs then serche fooꝛth, what in the alligorie these two mothers and the two sonnes signifie. Surely the two mothers represent the two testaments, of whom the one brought fooꝛth a people subiecte to the bondage of the lawe, the other brought fooꝛth a people thꝛough fayth free frō that burdain. For Sina is a mou taine in Arabia, whiche in the Chaldee language hath the name of the bondmaiden Agar, and bordereth vpon the mountaine of Sion, wher in standeth the cytie, that once was called Iebus, and is now called Ierusalem. Now are they, that inhabite the mountaine Agar, euen in these daies, bonde, in theyꝛ state resembling the beginner of that nacion. But Ierusalem, whiche as inheritauce fel to Isaacs posteritie, is free.

But Ierusa-  
lem whiche  
is aboute is  
free. sc.

This cite, forasmuche as it standeth in a high place, representeth hea- uen, into whose freedome we be called. That cytie is not onely mother to the Jewes, but to all vs, whiche beleue in Christ.

Moses lawe is pearthly, the lawe of the gospel, forasmuche as it came from heauen is heauenly. As the body is seruaunt to the soule: so that whiche is grosse, is bonde, and that whiche is spiritual, is free. Moses lawe brought fooꝛth her childe fyrst, the lawe of the gospel, albeit it had issue after, yet how many moze children brought it to God. Moses lawe brought fooꝛth but one nacion, & the same of no great multitude neither, the lawe of the gospel containeth all nacions of the worlde.

**The text.** For it is written, reioyce thou barren, that bearest no children: bꝛeake fooꝛth & cry, thou that trauallest not. For the desolate hath many moze children, than she whiche hath an husband.

And lest some thinke, that this was but a chaunce, Esai long befoze sayd it should so be, who by the spirite of pꝛophecie foꝛsepyng the great noubꝛe of Gentles resoꝛtyng to the gospel of Christ, reioyseth by these woꝛdes: Be glad thou barren, that bearest no children, bꝛeake fooꝛth and crye thou that trauallest not, for many moze children haste thou, whiche semedst desolate and barren, than hath she that hath a husband, and semed to put men in a meruailous hope of posteritie. In the Jewes state befoze tyme fewe were there, that came thꝛough it vnto Gods fauor, but fayth in the gospel hath brought in many, and wil without ende byng in moze. Thus see ye the two mothers and theyꝛ two children, the beginners of two nacions.

**The text.** Wherthen we are after Isaac the children of promise. But as then he that was borne after the fleshe persecuted him that was borne after the spirite: Euen so is it now.

Suche

Suche as yet styfly cleaue to Moses lawe, belong to Ismael, whiche was bozne of the handmayde. But we, whiche gyuyng ouer our cōfidence in the lawe, througħ perfite fayth hang only vpon Christ, are Isaacs children, who was bozne of the free & lawful wyfe, not by the courcie of nature, but by the promise of god. No; are we receyued into þ̄ welthy state, taught by the gospel, becaule we were bozne vnder the lawe, but because god lōg synce promised all them saluacion, that througħ fayth woulde come into the felowshipp of his sonne Iesus Christ. Yea and in this also the allegoꝛie featly agreeth, that bothe posterities sauct of they; beginners. For as thā, the elder sonne Ismael, carnall sonne vnto Abraham, persecuted the yonger called Isaac, who was bozne by goddes promise, euē at the tyme, whē they played together, takyng moze vpon hym, than was mete: so in this tyme, they that cleaue faste to the carnall lawe, hate suche as embrace the spiritual lawe of the gospel, labouryng to be moze esteemed, challengyng as they; s, the ryght of the fyꝛste begotten, whiche is only dewe to Christ: labouryng also by the title of auncentie to make the free mothers chyl- dzen bonde as they be, to thentent, that being elder seruauntes, they mayē ouer vs that are yonger, beate rule.

Neuerthele Tc, what sayeth the scripture, putte away the boude woman and her soune. For, the sonne of the bond woman shal not be heyrē w̄th the sonne of the free man: so then bythen we are not chyl- dzen of the bond woman; but of the free woman. The terte.

But the free mother alloweth no suche alteracion, no; wyl suffer these two bozne after suche a diuerse loꝛe to be conuersaunt together: But, as þ̄ scripture saythe, with great indignacion cryeth out: put away the bonde woman, and her sonne, to; I wyl not suffer, that the bond womānes childe shal w̄ my sonne Isaac be inheritour. The Jewe the Synagoge to muche hangeth by them, whiche belue the gospel. The Jewes require to muche of christians, whose libertie they enue at, ꝑ; the bonde mother wyl not gladly depart, let her rather be thꝛust out, than w̄ her slauy the companie, she corrupt my sonne. The inheritaunce of euerlastyng lyfe is promised to Isaac, and to hym is it owe. Let Agar, ꝑ; the luste, carꝑe furthe with her the water potte of the vnlawey lawe, whome she so greatly loueth. But my sonne Isaac by dꝑnyng the effectuaill lickoz of the gospel, shal styll with good lucke growe vp, vntill he become a perfite man. Wherfoze, suffer. (my byethzen) that the Jewes, which to stubberly delyte in the seruite lawe, haue styll they; owne bondage, no; growe oute of kynde from they; mother. We which were sometime oue selfe vnder the bondage of the law, and lyke vnto the chylde of the bond womā Agar, persecuted the verte naturail chylde of þ̄ churche, are nowe despueted frō that olde bondage, and receyued into the title of Saraes chylzen.

And for this libertie thanke we Christ, into whome througħ fayth we are so planted, that we are become inheriters of the promised inheritaunce of heauen. So that into what libertie Christe hath by his death after our falling from him restozed vs, that are Jewes, into the same are ye, that are Gentiles, called througħ preaching of the gospel.

# The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

## The. v. Chapter.

The texte. **¶** Stande faste therefore in the libertie, wherewith Chyriste hath made vs free, and wryppe not youre selues agayne in the yoke of bondage.



**N**Owe remaineth there nothyng, but that ye stedfastlye continewe in that ye haue once gotten. For what madnes is it to forsake the liberrall gyfte and freedome, wherein Chyriste of his especiall fauour hath sette you, and to become bonde? We, which of that paynfull bondage haue had experience, are glad and reioyse of oure libertie, and are ye of youre libertie in suche sorte weary, that ye are content to become bonde?

The texte. **¶** Beholde I Paule saye vnto you, that yf ye be circumcised, Chyriste shall profite you nothyng at all.

But this wyse peradventure ye deceyue your selfe saying, we renounce not Chyrist, but because we would be of euerlasting saluacion in more assurance, we ioyne Chyriste and the lawe together. But I tell you, that as Chyriste would haue this his whole benefite comen to all, so woulde he onely be thanked for ali, noz in this bounteous gyfte of his, wyl he haue any copartener. But because ye shall the better vnderstande, how great a iopardy it is to turne backe to Jewishnes: beholde, I Paule the Apostell of the Gentiles, whome ye well knowe, yea and an apostle appointed by Chyriste hymselfe tell you playnly, that yf ye be circumcised, Chyriste shall nothyng at all profite you. Yf ye perfitelie beleue, that he is able to gyue all men healthe euerlastyng, why seeke ye so? circumcission? If ye mistruste and feare, lest he be not able, then knowe ye not yet the benefite of Chyriste, wherof suche as mistrust, cannot be partakers: synce that gyfte is giuen to suche as beleue and truste, and not so muche for any descarte of oure woorkes. Either muste ye whollye become Jewes, & forsake Chyrist, or els chyristians wholly, and forsake Jewishnes. As for suche as playe with both handes, he cannot awaye with, noz wyl haue newe wyne poured into olde bottels, noz yet olde wyne into newe bottels. Nor can he beare with to haue newe clothe sowed or patched to an olde garmente, noz olde clothe to be patchedlye sowed into a newe.

If the bondage of Jewishnes were easye, it neded not peradventure to be passed vpon: yf the rewarde for it were great, then should the payne therof in some parte be therby recompensed. But nowe, belydes that the burden is exceedyng paynfull, ye shall not only by takyng of it not haue auantage, but alio great hurte.



¶ I testifie agayne to euery man, whiche is circumcised, that he is bounde to kepe the whole lawe. Christ is become but in baptis vnto you : as manie of you, as are iustified by the lawe, are fallen from grace. The terte.

Beware, lest with suche standyng in your owne conceptes ye deceyue your selues, saying we wyl not to the whole burden of the lawe be bound, somewhat wyl we take of the lawe. as for example circumcison onlpe, lest we seme vtterly to refuse it, as for sacrificyng of beastes, with suche other obseruaunces of the lawe, them wyl we not medle with. But because ye shall not be deceyued, I tell all men playnlye whosoever doth circumcise hym selfe, whether he be Jewe or Gentile, the same man maketh hymselfe bonde to the keepyng of the whole lawe. For as throughe baptisime menne wholly belong to Christ: so, whoso is circumcised, byndeth hymselfe to all the law, for circumcison is the marke, wherby he becommeth a Jew. The vncircumcised Gentiles stande in libertie to gather here and there out of the lawe, suche thinges as are nedefull, but the circumcised are bounde to the whole lawe. Whoso is content to receyue circumcison, muste lyke wise therewith receyue sacrifices, keepyng of the Sabbath, feastes of the newe Moone, washynges, choyse of meates, standing fasting dayes, with suche other lyke. Now wylfully to submit poure selfe to so great a burden, is it not a playne poynt of madnes, speciallpe for no other rewarde, but to be vnder a moste paynful and vnprofitable bondage, fallng from Christ & only gyuer of libertie and saluacion? For yf, as I nowe haue ofte tymes tolde you, ye looke to purchase perfite iustice by helpe of the law, which by a confidence in woikes promisseth a certayne perfeccio, surely ye are gone and departed ferre from the felowshyp of Christe, who woulde haue his gyfte to be free, and not gyuen for desertes. And then, yf ye be once departed from Christes felowshyp, the lawe wyl do you no good neither, but rather be your confusio. For yf there were of the lawe anye vse and profit befoze the lyght of the gospel (as there was) al that, by the gospel preached and taught is quite gone. Yf ye esteeme the lawe, Christe is abolyshed. But if ye receiue Christ, then muste the lawe gyue place. When I speake of the lawe, I vnderstande the groce and carnall parte of Moses lawe, whome the Jewes stily mayntayne by the corporal obseruaunces therof prompyng themselues perfite righteousnes. thinkyng that the blood of beastes spynkled vpon them pourgeth the soule from synne, and that washyng in water, scourseth out the filthines of soules, & that cleane or vncleane meat pourgeth or defileth the mynde.

As manie of you, as are iustified by the lawe, &c.

We looke for hope in the spirite to be iustified through faith. For in Jesu Christ, neither is circumcison any thyng wothe, neither yet vncircucison, but saych which woitheth by loue. The terte.

We contrariwylly embracyng the spirituall parte of the lawe, looke not for righteousnes promised by any superstitious obseruaunces of corporal ceremonies, but by that we throughe the gospel beleue, that by Christes death we freely receyue innocencie of lyfe, and full saluacion.

Nothing kylleth it, whether ye come to Christe, circumcised or vncircumcised, synce all this matter standeth, not in keepyng of the lawe, but

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

but in fayth, whiche albeit be without the woꝝkes of Moyses lawe, yet is she not idle, but secretly woꝝketh a vehement onwardnes to all godlynes, not so muche because the lawe so byddeth, but for charities sake, whiche withoute bydding euen of her owne accorde dothe muche moze than is any law with manacing woꝝdes oꝝ punishment able to get out. If ye haue charitte, what nede is there to haue the rules of the lawe? If ye lacke her, what auayleth you the keepyng of the lawe?

The texte,

Ye did runne wel: who was a let vnto you, that ye should not beleue the truthe? (con-  
fute vnto noman.) Euen the counsel whiche came not of hym, that calleth you, A lytle  
leauen dothe leauen the whole louppe of dowt.

Who was a  
lette to you  
ye should not  
beleue the  
truthe.

In the course of the gospel, ye dyd once runne apace, makyng hastye spede euen the very ryght waye towarde the chiefe game of cuerlastyng blysse, who was he that stayed your course? why approue ye not continually that thing wherewith ye were once well pleased? Why go ye fro your intended purpose, folowing other mennes myndes an other whyle? Beware that no mannes authoritie weyge so muche with you, y it make you drawe backe from your course apoynted. It is a foule shame for you now to fall to shadowes, after that ye once gaue credence to the truthe. I taught you nothing, but that was commaunded me by god. But they y labour to persuaide you the contrarie, lettynge therby the encrease of your fayth, and callynge you from your profession, to a Jewyshnes, folowe not god, as they; authour, (who throughe faythe hath called you into his fauour, and not to a Jewyshnes, throughe receyving of circumcision) but folow worldly desyres, seekyng for they; gaynes, glozie, and mayntenaunce of they; tyranie. Diligently take hede, and beware of they; persuasions. They are but fewe, but onles ye auoyde the same fewes companie, it is to be feared, lest they corrupte the whole multitude, and deface the puritie of your religion, euen as ye see, a lytle leauen sowzeth the whole batche, wherewith it is myngled, castyng by lytle the sournes of it self, througheout the whole dowe, whiche befoze was swete. Be there neuer so smal a poynt of Jewyshnes myngled with the gospel, the same lytle wyll corrupte in you the purenes therof.

The texte,

I haue truste towarde you in the Lorde, that ye shall be none other wyse mynded,  
But he that troubleth you, shall beare his iudgement, whatsoeuer he be.

But forasmuche as ye haue hitherto staggered throughe the enticement of other, I despayre not, but that ye wyll henceforth stedfastly continue in your olde godly purpose, standyng in this truste, muche vpon knowlege and triall of your natures, but specially vpon the helpe of Christe, who wrought in you to begynne with a mery chere, and wyll lyke wyse woꝝke in you grace, manfully to continue. But whosoever he be, that hath with new learning troubled the quietnes and purenes of your fayth, albeit he deceyue menne, yet shall he not escape goddes iudgement.

Hym at this tyme for certayne consideracions vtter I not, no; vse extremitie agaynste hym, but at goddes handes, to whome he is not vnknown. he is sure to be punished, who is without regarde of any mannes authoritie, whome he hath muche rather offended than me. For let this moue you, though some saye, that I abhorre not the keepng of the lawe, whiche haue with the Jewes lyued lyke a Jewe, and caused Timotheie to be circumcised. I dyd so by compulsion, and oftentimes resisting, geuyng yet place at that tyme, wherein I sawe no greate leopardie at hande in so doyng, and contrarie, yf I had not done it, there had bene a great commotion. But nowe vpon diuersities of the tyme and circumstance, expedient it is to folowe another way. And to tell you briezly herein my mynde, it is not all one to suffer and permit circumcission, and to preache it. I suffered Timotheie to be circumcised, but I neuer taught, that either he, or anye els should be circumcised.

So lykewyse when I oftentimes was conuersaunt among the Jewes, I abstayned from meates forbydden by the lawe, but neuer enioyned I vnto anye man, that suche choyse in meates shoulde be had, but rather taught the contrarie, that it forced nothyng what kynde of meates a man eate, so that he vse them soberly and with thankes geuyng to god. The tyme was, when it was nedefull to beare with the sinistre rooted persuasi- on of the Jewes, but nowe, synce the gospell is clearelye knowen, and the Jewes stubbernely labour to drawe the Gentiles into theyr supersticion, it is neither wel done, no; leopardiles to beare with it any longer, but rather besemeth it euery man, boldely to preache, that Moses lawe is expiered, and that all men ought to embrace the libertie of the gospell.

Wherthen yf I yet preache circumcission, why do I then suffer persecucion? The terte. Then is the sclauder of the crosse ceased. I woulde to god, they were separated from you, whiche trouble you.

For yf this were trewe, that they repozte of me, that I preache, and set furth circumcission, what cause is there then whye vntill this daye the Jewes so maliciously and hatefully persecute me? Thence is al my countrey mennes displeasure agaynst me, because I in suche sorte preache Chy- stes gospell, that therewith I teache, that Moses lawe is gone and abo- lished. The Jewes thynke, that they among men should be moze made of, yf the rites of Moses law might be myngled with Chyistes doctrine. But nowe great enuie haue they that all other people througth fayth are recei- ued into goddes fauour, whyles they vpon them carie about them the vn- profitable marke of circumcission. And this is the cause, why they without al pitie haue long tyme gone about my destruccio, because I euery where preache and promile all men perfite weale, without any helpe of circumci- sion. yf it so were, that I preached circumcissio, as some falsly repozt of me, why do the Jewes styll persecute me, synce the cause of al theyr displeasure bozne towarde me is vtterly taken awaye? Trust ye me ye people of Ga- lacia, my preachyng hath alwayes ben one, and so shall it hencefurth con- stinewe lyke.

Why do I  
then suffer  
persecucion?

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

On your parte see lykewyse, that your sayth be, as myne is. For so farre am I from the mynde to agree with them, that teache circumcision, that if they; stubbornnes wyll not suffer them to forsake they; lawe, rather thā they should vterly withd;awe you from the gospell, and with they; persuasions plucke you out of the ryght waye, I woulde wyshe them vterly separate from the felowshyp of the gospell. If they be so frowardly gyuen to circumcision, god graunt them not only to be circumcised, but also to be vterly cutte of, that they maye moze plenteously haue they; delict. Better is it, that they only perishe, than d;awe so many other with them in to damnacion.

The texte,

Brethren ye were called into libertie: only let not your libertie be an occasion vnto the flesh, but by loue (of the spirite) serue one an other. For all the lawe is fulfilled in one worde whiche is this: thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. If ye byte and deuoure one another: take hede, lest ye be lykewyse consumed one of another.

Synce they are so content, let them styll continewe on in they; shamefull bondage. But ye my brethren throughe the gospell are called to libertie, and not to be bonde. So that nothyng elles nowe remaineth, but to take hede, that the libertie gyuen vnto you by the spirite of Chyriste be not applyed, to þ occasion of fleshlye lustes. The bondage of the lawe is in suche sorte taken awaye, that in her steede is come charitie taughte by the gospell, whiche by saye meanes obtayneth moze than the lawe was able to do with compulsion. And yet for all that among frendes, of whome one is glad to do for an other, there is no; maysterhyy no; bondage. The lawe b;oddeyth no man to put his lyfe in leoparde for defence of his frende, no; that a man shoulde by defraudyng nature ease his b;others nede, no; that thou whiche arte stronger, shouldest beare with the weaker, or the learned with the vnlearned, or the better with the worse, all whiche yet commaundeth charitie, whiche so alwaye telleth, that thynges are to be done, not by force, but euen of good wyll, and voluntarily. Besyde this onlye charitie comp;ing in her the whole strength and effecte of the lawe b;riefly, bynyng: th that aboute, that the lawe with so many rules and th;eatnynges is not able to do.

For the lawe  
is fulfilled in  
one word, &c.

For all that the b;abylng law with so many rules laboureth to bynyng to passe, all that is in a shorte sentence concluded, w;ritten in Leviticum, whiche is this, thou shalt loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. wherfoze if ye with charitie be knytte together, ye shall one by an others diligent labour helpe an other, and with mutuall seruite labour to comfozte other. But contrarpe, if ye, as carnal men are wont, do disagree eche one hatyng an other, and not onlye helpe not eche one another, but also backbite and gnawe one another, and not onlye backbyte and gnawe, but like outragiose wyld beasts, as muche as in you is, deuoure other, great cause surelye haue ye to feare, lest ye like beasts tearing one another be with they; woundes destroyed.

To this inconuenience fall they, whiche beyng withoute the charitie taught by the gospell stycke styll to the carnall law, whyles they measure  
all



of S. Paule to the Galathians. Cap. v. Fol. xix.

al thynges by theyr p̄uate commodities, wheras contrary christian charitie is in a readynes to do other men good.

¶ I say, walke in the spirite, and fulfill not the lustes of the fleshe. For the fleshe lusteth contrary to the spirite, and the spirite contrarye to the fleshe, these are contrarye one to an other, so that ye cannot do, whatsoeuer ye would. But and if ye be led of the spirite, then are ye not vnder the lawe. The texte.

The whole effecte of my woordes drawe to this ende, that forsomuche as ye are deliuered from the bondage of Moses carnal lawe, ye should leade your life accoꝝdyng to the spiritual lawe of charitie, as ye shall in dede do, if ye neither esteeme perseuer righteousnes to stande in Jewische ceremonies, nor liue vnder carnal lustes. If ye liue vnder carnal lustes ye shall alway be vnder the lawe. Endeavour ye therfoꝝe to leade a spiritual life, & if ye thus do, then shall ye abstaine froe suche actes, as the fleshe shall pꝝouoke you vnto. For as in one manne there is a grosse and heauy body, and a soule that is heauenly and immortall, and as in one law there is a grosse parte, whom we call the letter, and again a heauenly thyng, whiche is called the spirite: so in one mannes soule one power there is, whiche styl calleth to goodnes, and an other to this power contrary, like vnto the body & the letter of the law, whiche pꝝouoketh vs to dishonestie. Betwene these partes there is a continual battaile, whiles the fleshe fighteth against the spirite, and the spirite against the fleshe. Well may the fleshe be restrained froe her desyres, but yet wyl it not be so oppꝝessed, but that it wyl laboꝝr and stryue against the spirite. And if the fleshe happen to haue the vpper hand, it is sometyme seen, that where a man hath a desyre to godlines, yet beyng ouercomen by the fleshe, he doth suche thynges, as he knoweth should be auoyded. And if the spirite of Christ sufficiently moue you to do willyngly suche thynges, as are good & godly, then hath Moses lawe vpon you none authoritie. The fleshe lusteth contrary to the spirite.

The dedes of the fleshe are many, whiche are these, adulterie, fornicacion, vncleannes, wantonnes, worshypping of idoles, witchcraft, hatred, variaunce, zeale, wrath, strife, sedicion, sectes, enuyng, murder, dishonesties, glorie, and suche like: of the whiche I tel you befoꝝe, as I haue tolde you in tyme past, that they whiche committe suche thynges, shall not be inheritoꝝs of the kyngdome of God. The texte.

But because ye shall not be ignozant, the spirite wherof we now speake, is a thyng that cannot be seen, the fleshe may be seen. And yet is it not hard to coniecture, whether a man be seruaunt to the fleshe, or be ledde by the spirite of God. For as the wellspꝝynges be, suche are the waters and other that flowe from thence. A mannes life, maners, & doynge plainly shewe what a man is within. But because we wyl not at this tyme speake of doubtful or hidden matters, these be they, that make plaine pꝝofe, that a man is styl seruaunt to the fleshe, notwithstanding he be baptised, and haue shaken of the bondage of the lawe, aduoutyng (I say) fornicacion, vncleannes, wantonnes, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variaunce, zeale, wrath, strife, sedicion, sectes, enuy, murder, dishonesties, glotony. To these whosoꝝer be bonde, alvett the same man be baptised, yet is he not thoroughly. The dedes of the fleshe, are these, adulterie, &c.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

free, but bondslawe to naughtie desyres. No; be ouer holde, because ye are baptised, or for your workyng of myracles. What tyme I was among you, I warned you, and now by my letter I earnestly warne you againe, that al they whiche do suche thynges, shalbe excluded from the inheritance of the kyngdome of heauen.

**The texte.** Contrarily, the fruite of the spirite is loue, ioy, peace, long sufferynz, gentlenes, goodnes, saythfulnes, mekenes, temperancie. Against suche there is no lawe. They truly, that are Christes, haue crucified the fleshe with the affections and lustes.

On the other syde, suche as are perfectly free, and ruled by the spirite of God are known by these frutes. For with this spirite are ioyned charitie, ioy, peace, long suffertyng, gentlenes, goodnes, saythfulnes, mekenes, temperancie. They that of theyr owne good wyll do these, haue no neede to be pricked forth with compulsoyres of the lawe, for them theyr owne innocencie maketh free from it. Besyde this, they that truly are Christes, as it becometh spiritual people, haue crucified the fleshe with all the vices and desires therof. For by baptisme we dye with Christ, and are buried also with him.

**The texte.** If we liue in the spirite, let vs walke in the spirite. Let vs not be desirous of haire glepp, prouokynge one an other, enuiynge one at an other.

We may not stande doubtfully betwene the fleshe and the spirite, whether of both we should folowe. If the spirite geue life to the body, reason it is that the body be vnder the gouernaunce of the spirite. If we haue receiued life through the spirite of Christ, and not by the lawe, let vs liue accordyng vnto the inclinacion of the same spirite. If we haue truly tasted of the spirite of Christ, let vs byng forth the frutes of it, and abstaine from al carnal workes. Let vs not be desyous of vainglopy, for the same prouokynge eche one an other of vs to debate and strife, enuiynge one an other of vs. For euen them, that profess the rule of godly life, these vices oftetymes trouble, whiche, yet are in very dede the pestilence and destruction of true godlynes.

The

The vi. Chapter.

Brethren, if a man also be taken in any faulte, ye whiche are spiritual, heape to as-  
 mende him, in the spirite of mekenes: consideryng thy selfe, lest thou also be tempteu. The texte.



hertofore haue I shewed you (brethren) to what ende all they, that haue taken Christes religion vpon them, must enforze the selfes. Yet because baptisme taketh not from vs, but that we are men still, if any among you by reason of weakenes fall into any offence, your part is, which are stronger, & by the spirit of God haue not geue place to fleshly despyres, with gentle and meke wordes to restore him againe, encouraging him vp, that he may rise againe, not w<sup>th</sup> rough speache causing him to despayre. Hypocrites vie suche proud lokes and high wordes, but Christes spirite, forasmuche as it despyreth al mens saluacion, with meke and gentle meanes calleth men to amendement. And oftentimes it chaunceth, that whō a sharpe earnestnes withd<sup>r</sup>aweeth vtterly, them gentle and brotherly correccion maketh humble and boweth. Moses law after suche sorte suppresseth synne, that it destroyeth the liuer, but christia<sup>n</sup> charitie so remedyeth vice, that she yet saueth y<sup>e</sup> mā. The better thou arte, by so muche the more gently condescende thou to thy brothers weakenes. If Christes owne example moue the not sufficiently so to do, who most mercifully suffered his children, vntil tyme they amended, at lest wyse yet lette this encourage you, because ye knowe, that the like may chaunce vnto your selfes.

Consideryng thy selfe, lest thou be tempteu.

Beare ye one an others burdaine, and so fulfil the lawe of Christ. For if any man seme to him selfe, that he is somewhat, when in dede he is nothing, the same deceueth his owne minde. The texte.

This man is fallen, remember that thou art a fragile man also. Let his fall be vnto the a lesson, neither to be bolde vpon thy selfe, noz per to trust to muche in thine owne strength. Use thy selfe to warde him that is fallen, as thou wouldest be glad to be vied, if the like chauced to the. And a mischaunce may befall any worldly man. Suche as at the mocion of certaine false Apostles haue staggered, must not with cruclnes be banished out of your company, but charitably be called againe to they<sup>r</sup> olde steadfastnes. The tyme may come, that they beyng made strong may againe beate with your weakenes. He that hath vpon him a heauy burdaine, must be eased, and not thzowen doune. Wherfoze if eche of you beare others burdaines, then shal ye in euery point fulfill the lawe of charitie, whiche lawe is Christes owne lawe. Christ wheras he neither was vnder synne, noz nigh the ieopardye therof, yet bare he vpon him our wickednes, and of his great mercy healed vs, & condemned vs not, as one without pitie. Let no man thinke him selfe to be righteous, and vpon confidence therein despise his brother, that is with some kynde of synne entangled.

Beare ye one another's burdaine

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

For a man to seame iust to him selfe, is a pzoofe of a fained righteousnes. Wherfoze if any man thinke him selfe somethyng, when he in dede is no thyng, he deceiueth him selfe.

**The texte.** Let euery man proue his owne worke, and then shal he haue reioysyng, onely in his owne selfe, and not in an other. For euery man shal beare his owne burdaine.

For neither is any man therfoze righteous, because he auunceth him selfe befoze the sinner, noz is therfoze one man defiled with other mennes synne, if he submitte him selfe to restoze him againe. Noz is he therfoze good, because he cōpareth him selfe to a worse. Euery man shalbe iudged by his owne dedes. Yet must noman in his owne dedes haue a confidēce, but euery manne must serche with him selfe, whether that, wherin he beareth him selfe in hand to do well, be suche, as of God shuld be allowed. If thine owne conscience condemne the not, yet glozy not, because other are weake, but glozy of thine owne strength, & glozy inwardly, geuyng God thākes for his gistes bestowed vpon the, noz boist it among other, ne dispise them, that are not so strong as thou art. Helpe him, if thou be able, if thou be not able, let God his iudge alone with him. Neither shal his synne diminishe thy rewarde, noz thou for an other mannes offence be punished, but befoze God euery man shal beate his owne burdaine.

**The texte.** Let him that is taught in the worde, minister vnto him that teacheth him in all good thinges. We not deceiued, God is not mocked. For what soeuer a man soweth, that shal he also reape. For he that soweth in his fleshe, shal of the fleshe reape corruption; but he that soweth in the spirite, shal of the spirite reape life euerlastyng.

Be not deceiued  
God is not  
mocked.

But as long as we be in this worlde, we are bounde eche one to helpe an other. And as it belongeth to them, whose gistes are aboue others, with teachyng, comfoztynge & exhortacion to helpe their bzothers weakenes, so let suche, as be holpen, remembze, that they be not vnthankful to suche as haue done for them. And so among you shal al good thinges be comen, if they, that can pzeache the gospel, teache, comfozt, & beate vpp the rude, and they againe that are taught, of theyz substance geue theyz teachers and counsailours necessaries, so that one do for an other. Let them that teache, take heede that theyz doctrine be christian, and sauoz of the spirite of Christ, or els better wer it for a mā not to beleue his teacher at all. Besyde that, he that for corrupte teachyng the gospel receiueth mede of him, whō he so teacheth, the man he deceiueth, yea, and him selfe to, but God can not of him be deceiued. Wherfoze my counsail is, that ye teache sincerely the gospel, for God is not mocked with. But suche seede as euery mā soweth, suche shal he mowe. Whoso teacheth carnal doctrine, for his seede he shal reape fruit which is corruptible. But he that teacheth spiritual doctrine, shal for his spiritual and heauenly counsail receiue like rewarde, whiche is life euerlastyng.

**The texte.** Let vs not be weary of well doying. For when the tyme is come, we shall reape without wearynes. Whyle we haue therfoze tyme: let vs do good vnto all men, and especially vnto them, whiche are of the household of fayth,

Therefore



Therfoze let vs alwaye endeuoure to do foꝛ all men, noꝛ cease at any tyme to do good dedes, whether we haue gentle scholers, oꝛ vngentle, whether we haue a rewarde of men, oꝛ not. foꝛ when the tyme shall come, we shall gather fruite, whiche shall neuer dye, and receyue foꝛ our tempoꝛall labours, wages euerlastyng. Sowynge tyme shall not alwaye contnew, the tyme shall come, when we shall neithꝛ with our owne dedes be holpen, noꝛ with other mennes. foꝛ the tyme of this present lyfe we maye with good woꝛkes wꝛn goddes fauour, and helpe other, but at the daye of iudgemēt, neither shall oure good woꝛkes haue place, noꝛ we be able to do foꝛ anye other. Therfoze let vs take the tyme, whyle it serueth, endeuouryng to do, bothe foꝛ all men, and specially foꝛ them, that are of the same religion and fayth, that we be of. The Jewe fauoureth none, but Jewes, but the chꝛist: an folowynge the example of Chꝛiste is despyꝛouse to do good foꝛ all men.

When the time is come, we shall reape without wearynes.

¶ Ye se, howe large a letter I haue wꝛyten vnto you with myne owne hand. As many as despyꝛe with outwarde apparence to please carnally: the same contrayne you to be circumcised, only lest they shoulde suffer persecucion foꝛ the crosse of Chꝛist. foꝛ they themselves, whiche are circumcised, kepe not the lawe, but despyꝛe to haue you circumcised, that they might reioyce in your fleshe.

The text:

Ye se (ye people of Galacia,) how I am in this matter delited, which with myne owne hand wꝛote vnto you so long an epistle. Ye knowe my hande wꝛyting. No cause haue ye to thinke, that it is a counterfalte letter, it is all myne, and a declaracion of my good wyl towards you. And looke, that it wꝛy you be of moꝛe weight, than anye falle apostles doctrine. Suche as endeuoure rather to please men, than god, suche (I saye) moue you to be circumcised, to thintent they maye byꝛyng you in hatred of the Gentiles foꝛ Chꝛistes sake, and in displeasure with the Jewes foꝛ lacke of circumcission. Jewes are they, that so teache, and feare the displeasure of theyꝛ countrey men, yf they shoulde without circumcision pꝛeache Chꝛiste, as menne abolyshyng the lawe. Suche rather stande in feare of men, than of God, and seeke foꝛ pꝛaꝛse at mēnes handes, rather than at goddes. Suche feare lest the sincere pꝛofession of the crosse of Chꝛiste mighte stieꝛe by other, yf hate Chꝛistes name, to persecute them, and feare also, lest they shoulde be coumpted foꝛ vnlearned, yf they shoulde nothyng elles teache, but this simple lesson: that Chꝛist was crucified. Noꝛ do they this foꝛ a very zeale boꝛne to the lawe of theyꝛ countrey, as I once erroneouslye dyd, persecutyng the flocke of Chꝛist, foꝛasmuche as no not the Jewes self kepe yf law, nōtwithstandyng they be of theyꝛ foꝛefathers circumcised, but abuse your rudenes, charyng you with circumcission to the ende, that they among theyꝛ companions maye haunte themselves, that thꝛough theyꝛ pꝛeachyng and teachyng ye are fallen to Jewyshnes. This policie vse they to pacifie the enuie of theyꝛ countrey men, whiche coulde not abyde, that thꝛough the gospel of Chꝛiste the lawe should be abꝛogate. As foꝛ I neither so feare the hatred of the Jewes, noꝛ persecucion of the Gentiles, yf I should with lesse sinceritie pꝛeache Chꝛistes gospel.

God forbid, that I should reioyce, but in the crosse of our Lord Iesu Chꝛist, wherby the world is crucified vnto me, and I vnto the worlde. foꝛ in Chꝛist Iesu neither circumcission auayleth any thyng at all, noꝛ vncircumcission, but a newe creature,

The text.

## The paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the Epistle

God forbid, that I shoulde in anye thyng els reioyce, but in the crosse of my lorde Iesu Chyiste. The Gentiles, (I knowe) coumpte his crosse for a vilanie and reproche, the Jewes hate and enuie it, yet therein onlye put I all my glozie, whiche nothyng regarde woꝛldly pryse, as one, to whome throughte baptisme beyng graffed into the bodie of Chyiste the woꝛlde is deade, and contrary wyse I to the woꝛlde, noꝛ am I with aduersities thereof a fearde, noꝛ with prosperities delited, noꝛ passe vpon the displeasure, noꝛ couet the commendacion, without all feare of woꝛldly reproche, and without desyre of vayne gloꝛy. Chyiste onlye is for me sufficient both for al, and agaynst all. To whose profession, whether a man come, circumcised out of the stocke of the Jewes, or not circumcised out of the stocke of the Gentiles, it foꝛceyth not. Into whose bodie, whoso throughte fayth is transfourmed, is sodaynely in suche soꝛte chaunged, that he is become a newe creature, and called regenerate. I but on therfoꝛe for all woꝛldely differences. Whoso professeth Chyiste, let him nothyng els remember, but that he is a chrystian man.

Wherby the woꝛlde is crucified vnto me, & I vnto the woꝛld.

The 16. c.

And as manye as walke accordyng to this rule, peace be on them, and mercye, and vpon Iſrael, that pertaineth to God. From hencefurthe let no man put me to busynes. For: I beare in my body the markes of the lorde Iesu. Brethren the grace of oure lorde Iesu Chyist be with your spirite. Amen.

Let this be a sure rule, whiche rule, whoso euer folowe, to them wythe I peace and mercye, for meete it is to wythe them the same thing, whiche Dauid wished to the Iſraelytes in the Dialmes, where he saythe: peace be vpon Iſrael. But there be of Iſraelites two soꝛtes, one, whiche is so accounted befoꝛe men, and an other befoꝛe god. For he is not streyght a verte Iſraelite, whiche is but circumcised, but he, whose mynde is circumcised, and he that throughte fayth is strong to godwarde. To suche Iſraelites then, of whiche noubmer ye also be, wythe I peace and mercie. Away with false Iſraelites, suche as stubberly and maliciously stryue agaynst the gospel of Chyiste, they shall neuer from this doctryne moue me, but, what I haue preached, that wyll I euer preach. And therfoꝛe in this matter let no mā here after trouble me. So far am I from to be moued from the truthe of the gospel with any vilanye or affliction, that whether soeuer I go, I carie about in my bodie all the spite, that I haue for Chyiste sustayned, as emprisonmentes, scourgynges, chaynes, stonynges, with other aduersities suffered for Chyistes name, as tokens and markes of my Lorde Iesus Chyiste, blasynge them out, as certayne sygnes of my victories, coumptyng this for my glozie, that I, as farre as maye be, deserue to folow the crosse of Chyist, whome I preach. The grace and good wyll of our Lorde Iesus Chyist (brethren) be euer with your spirite, & throughte his ayde ye maye continewe in the truthe of the gospel: whiche desyre of myne, that it maye take effecte, he graunte, by whose spirite I wꝛote these.

I beare in my bodie the markes of my lorde Iesu.

Finis,